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ABSTRACT

This annual compilation contains six papers depicting a complex array of relationships which have historically existed between the higher education academy and the community. These relationships reveal mutual involvement, dependence, support, and conflict. In "The University of Padua 1405-1600: A Success Story," (Paul F. Grendler) the beneficial, cooperative relationships between the Venetian ruling class and the university are revealed. Next, "When Professors Had Servants: Prestige, Pay, and Professionalism, 1860-1917" (W. Bruce Leslie), looks at turn of the century town-gown relations at four American colleges. The development of municipal higher education and female education are addressed in "Subway Scholars at Concrete Campuses: Daughters of Jewish Immigrants Prepare for the Teaching Profession, New York City, 1920-1940" (Ruth Jacknow Markowitz). A case of town-gown conflict in the 1930s is examined in "Politics, Science, and Education in New Mexico: The Racial-Attitudes Survey of 1933" (Lynne Marie Getz). In "The Gender Effect: The Early Curricula of Beloit College and Rockford Female Seminary" Lucy Townsend shows how a community intervened when a college board of trustees failed to live up to its mission. The last paper, "Toward a Political History of American Foundations" (David C. Hammack) reviews three books which question the claim that philanthropic foundations represent community interests to universities and colleges. (GLR)

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On the cover: City of Padua. *Source*: Hartmann Schadel, *The Nuremberg Chronicle*, (Nuremberg, 1493), leaf 74. *Courtesy*: Special Collections, University Library, Northwestern University.

Introduction to Volume Ten

HAROLD S. WECHSLER

Northwestern University

ARE TOWN-GOWN RELATIONSHIPS INHERENTLY antagonistic? Many observers say yes, citing animosity between students and community members that can escalate into confrontation and even violence. This image has a long history: residents of both medieval and modern college towns denounced students and other members of academic institutions who sought exemption from community morés and laws. Universities and colleges cited economic, social, and cultural benefits that resulted from their presence in the community. But when academic institutions and their members claimed priority for more cosmopolitan concerns, they irritated many townspeople.

The articles in this tenth anniversary edition of the *History of Higher Education Annual* depict a complex array of relationships between academy and community. These relationships reveal mutual involvement, dependence, support—as well as conflict.

"The University of Padua 1405-1600: A Success Story," by Paul F. Grendler, reveals beneficial, cooperative relationships between the Venetian ruling class that governed Padua for two centuries and the university that bears the city's name. Venetian financial and political backing helped to build an internationally recognized university that educated successor generations of rulers while strengthening the local economy.

"When Professors Had Servants," by W. Bruce Leslie questions standard historical renditions of town-gown relations at turn of the century American colleges. Far from being at odds with their communities, professors and presidents at the four colleges in Leslie's study—Bucknell, Franklin and Marshall, Princeton, and Swarthmore—resided among leading citizens and were integrated in local and denominational intellectual and social life. Salary levels, Leslie adds, enabled faculty members to reside among affluent townspeople.

Ruth Jacknow Markowitz tells the story of the "Subway Scholars on Concrete Campuses" whose daily commute to New York City's municipal colleges and teacher-training schools connected their family, neighborhood, and academic lives. Family expectations that good teaching positions awaited the female children of immigrants who graduated from these institutions kept enrollments—and community support for municipal higher education—high even when the demand for teachers slackened during the Depression. These students often brought unconventional ideas and conduct from their homes to the classroom—a "problem" for college authorities and for New York City school officials, but an opportunity for the women who obtained employment as teachers to effect change in the schools.

"Politics, Science, and Education in New Mexico," by Lynne Marie Getz, relates a "conflict" story. The New Mexico political establishment of the 1930s stirred up anti-university animosity when a professor of education surveyed the racial attitudes of Anglo teen-agers. Progressive educators argued for the political neutrality of their "scientific" surveys. But community sentiment against the inquiry further strained already tense relations between the university and state government authorities.

"The Gender Effect," Lucy Townsend's essay on Rockford Female Seminary and Beloit College, shows how a community intervened when a college board of trustees failed to live up to its mission. Rockford, Illinois citizenry encouraged principal Anna Sill—and gave her a building—when the Rockford seminary founders gave priority to Beloit, a companion men's college across the Wisconsin-Illinois state line.

Philanthropic foundations claim to represent community interests to universities and colleges. But the books that David Hammack reviews in "Toward a Political History of American Foundations" question this claim. Do foundations work for the public good, or for the interests of specific social and economic strata? And do academic institutions give up their autonomy when they become reliant upon foundation largesse?

Communal and academic agendas differ. The attitudes of the Venetian authorities and of the New Mexico governor towards their respective universities represent extreme cases of cooperation and hostility. Neither extreme condition, nor any intermediate position, is foreordained, the articles in this *Annual* show. The quality and intensity of town-gown relationships rarely come about by accident.

The University of Padua 1405-1600: A Success Story

PAUL F. GRENDLER

University of Toronto

WHEN THE REPUBLIC OF VENICE CONQUERED PADUA and incorporated the town and its territory into the Venetian empire, a delegation of Paduans begged the Venetian doge to maintain the University of Padua.[1] Doge and government agreed. They honored their commitment so well that the University of Padua reached a level of greatness in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that it had never previously reached and never would again. The eminent scholars who taught at Padua and the students who came from all over Europe to study with them made Padua famous. But behind the scholars and students stood the Venetian government whose policies created the conditions for greatness of the University of Padua. That role is usually ignored or hardly remembered. This brief paper will analyze the role of the Venetian government in directing the University of Padua during the Renaissance. It will focus on three distinct periods, really points of crisis for the university, and then attempt to explain the reasons behind Venetian support for the university.[2]

The University of Padua began with a migration of teachers and students from Bologna, the first European university, in 1222.[3] Like other Italian universities, it gradually evolved from a student-governed *universitas* into a civic institution under the control of the communal government. From 1318 onward the princely Carrara family ruled both Padua and the university. By 1400 the university could take pride in a few well-known scholars as well as students who came from a variety of European countries. However, in 1405 the Republic of Venice conquered Padua, a significant step on the road of Venetian imperialism which continued until Venice had conquered most of the northeastern quarter of the Italian peninsula. The Paduans quite naturally feared for the future of the university.

The first crisis at the beginning of Venetian rule in 1405 was quickly surmounted. The Venetian Senate promptly signalled that the Paduan *studio* would be the university of the Venetian state. It ordered the nascent and potentially competing *studii* of Treviso and Vicenza to close. Then on March 31, 1407, it decreed that all the Republic's subjects desiring university degrees must study at Padua under pain of a fine of 500 ducats.[4] The decree was repeated several times in the course of the next 200 years and may not have been rigorously enforced. Nevertheless, it confirmed the intention of the Senate to make Padua the university of the Venetian state.

Most important, the Venetian Senate took immediate steps to guarantee the financial stability of the university. At first Venice and the Commune of Padua would each contribute half of the 3,000 ducats thought to be needed for the university. But this sum proved to be inadequate; possibly the Paduan commune lacked the financial resources to make up its half. Hence, on September 12, 1407, the Venetian Senate agreed to pay all the expenses up to a maximum of 4,000 ducats.[5] With these measures, the Venetian government set the University of Padua on a sound fiscal foundation. Eventually the Venetian government developed a series of taxes on Padua and its territory to pay most of the costs of the university.

In the course of the next 200 years, university expenses rose to a maximum of about 12,000 ducats. For example, total university expenses were 11,840 Venetian ducats or Paduan *fiorini* for the academic year 1552-53. This money paid the salaries of 51 professors plus some additional expenses, especially for the botanical garden.[6] Padua normally had the highest university budget in Italy. In the 1520s, when its university budget was at its apex for the period 1400 to 1600, the Bolognese government spent 25,000 to 30,000 *lire bolognesi* on its university. Since the Venetian ducat was worth about 3.5 Bolognese lire at that time, Bologna spent the equivalent of between 7,150 and 8,600 ducats on its university.[7] Bologna had about 100 faculty members in the 1520s, while Padua had 50 to 60 faculty members in the 1550s.[8] Hence, average salaries at Padua were considerably higher than at Bologna. In the vigorous competition between the two pre-eminent universities of Italy (and probably in all of Europe), Padua preferred to hire fewer professors at higher salaries than its rival.[9]

The next crisis for the University of Padua occurred shortly after the middle of the fifteenth century. It was academic rather than fiscal: student enrollment had fallen because of a deterioration in the quality of the faculty. At the beginning of the academic year in November 1457 the Venetian governors of Padua reported that student enrollment had dropped from a normal figure of 800 to only 300.[10] This is the earliest available information on the size of the student body. It suggests that Padua normally boasted the second largest enrollment, behind Bologna, of the Italian universities.[11] But a drop to only 300 students certainly was a serious crisis. Several causes produced the decline, according to the governors. Some professors missed so many classes that students refused to come to Padua. Other famous professors had lost their audience as they aged. Two legists had died. In addition, the fall of Constantinople and a new outbreak of war in Italy had produced a general political malaise that kept some students away.

The Venetian government responded with a sustained program of reform measures over the next 20 years that strengthened the university and provided the basis for Paduan greatness in the following century. It began with administrative reforms. In 1463 the Venetian Senate approved new statutes for the university that were printed in 1465.[12] It then passed regulations financially penalizing professors who were absent without permission from Padua. And the Senate ordered the university roll, that is, the placard listing the professors and courses to be taught, to be prepared in May in anticipation of the beginning of the academic year at the first of November. This enabled students to know in advance who would be teaching.[13]

Next, the Senate expanded the faculty. In 1467 the Venetian government added six "third places" (two each in canon law, civil law, and medicine) to the university roll. This meant that in addition to the ordinary professor and his *concorrente* (the professor who taught the same text at the same hour), a third junior professor would also lecture on the same text at the same hour. These third positions carried very low stipends of 20 florins and were reserved for recent graduates of the university.[14] The use of junior professors was a common device found in several Italian universities: they expanded the teaching at small cost. But they served a useful purpose. If the first ordinary professor was unavailable or ill, and his concurrent unattractive, students could still attend lectures on required texts given by the third professor. Hence, students might stay in Padua instead of leaving for another university. These third positions also offered youthful scholars the opportunity to develop their skills.

The Venetian Senate next curbed localism in appointments. In the late 1470s it forbade Venetian patricians and original citizens from holding professorships at Padua.[15] The government also ruled that two Paduans could not be concurrent professors in the same lectureship. That is, only one professor of the two or three professors teaching a subject at the same hour could be a Paduan.[16]

No other Italian Renaissance university checked localism. Elsewhere, the university meant "jobs for the boys:" men from prominent local families monopolized the professorships. For example, Bologna limited the ordinary professorships to Bolognese citizens by birth. It then exempted four professorships from the requirement in order to attract a few academic "stars" from outside. Even though Bologna did not follow these rules strictly, Bolognese men still held 80 to 90 percent of the teaching positions in any given year. Other governments did not bother to legislate that professors had to be subjects: they simply appointed local men to almost all the faculty positions.[17] In other words, every other Italian university took the opposite path from Padua.

Barring Venetians from prestigious jobs in the state was contrary to normal Venetian practice. Indeed, the government usually took extraordinary measures to ensure that Venetian subjects, and especially the nobility, held every key position in the Venetian state. For example, Venetian subjects occupied nearly all bishoprics in the Republic; nobles harvested the lucrative sees while commoners took those that paid less well. Despite papal fulminations non-Venetians were shut out.[18] The Venetian nobility practiced nepotism as enthusiastically as any other Renaissance ruling class—except in university appointments.

However, the Venetian nobility sacrificed little in barring its members from holding Paduan professorships. Only two patricians had held ongoing teaching appointments at Padua before the late 1470s.[19] Another 19 young patricians had taught for only a year or two, either just prior to or immediately after winning doctorates.[20] A typical example was the humanist Ermolao Barbaro (1453/4-93) who received his arts doctorate at Padua in 1474, lectured on Aristotle's *Ethics* in 1474-75 and on the *Politics* in 1475-76, and took his doctorate in canon and civil law in 1477. He then returned to Venice to begin his political career.[21] Teaching at Padua was not part of the patrician career pattern.[22]

Many leaders of the state were learned men who took a keen interest in intellectual activities. Some wrote books. But Venetian ideology honored commerce or service to the state in high public office rather than teaching. Moreover, a patrician who taught at Padua would have found it impossible to participate in Venetian politics with its weekly elections, numerous magistracies, rapid rotation of offices, and frequent postings to governorships, administrative posts, and embassies in the Venetian Empire and beyond. A handful of Venetian nobles held teaching posts at the university-level Scuola di Rialto (which taught philosophy) and Scuola di San Marco (humanities) in Venice.[23] Because these small, elite schools were located in Venice, the noble teacher could remain close to the center of power. But even those patricians who taught in Venice did so for only a few years before entering public office. And the Venetian Senate did not worry about Paduan unhappiness when it limited the number of *Padovani* who might hold university professorships. The Paduans were a subject people expected to obey. Indeed, the Venetian nobility held the Paduans in low regard. The *Padovani* were poor, litigious, and cowardly, reported a Venetian governor of Padua in 1549.[24]

The Venetian government barred its own nobles and original citizens from professorships and restricted the number that Paduans could hold because they wanted to open up positions for outsiders. In the last 15 years of the fifteenth century, the Venetian authorities made offers to scholars at the universities of Ferrara, Florence, Pavia, Rome, and Siena, with some success.[25] A number of distinguished scholars filled the teaching ranks, and enrollment grew. The Venetian Senate found the money to appoint new professors and to raise the salaries of incumbents by diverting tax revenues collected in other subject towns, such as Bergamo, Treviso, and Verona, to the expenses of the university. They also expected Padua and its territory to pay more for the university.[26] Overall, the series of measures of the 1460s and 1470s strengthened the university.

The third crisis of the University of Padua occurred after the Venetians lost the battle of Agnadello in May, 1509 and with it the mainland state. The leading citizens of Padua hastened to throw off Venetian rule and to welcome imperial forces into the city. Paduan independence lasted only until Venice recaptured the city two months later but had serious consequences for some of the faculty. The Venetians believed that several Paduan-born university professors had behaved treasonably. So they hanged a prominent professor of canon law who had held high civic office during the imperial occupation, even though his exact role remains unclear, and meted out lesser penalties to two other professors.[27]

Unfortunately, the disruption caused by the war went beyond the alleged treason of a few professors. Classes were suspended for at least several months and perhaps longer. Even more damaging was the flight of professors, including the eminent Pietro Pomponazzi; he and others failed to return. The Venetian government kept the university going on a limited basis throughout the years of war.

When the Republic finished reconquering its mainland state in January, 1517, it decided to reopen formally the university in the autumn. As the government rebuilt the university after 1517, the Venetian Senate relied on three of its members to prepare faculty rolls. Senate documents began to refer to the trio as "*riformatori*" (reformers) of the university. In the following decades this group of three patricians became a regular magistracy called the Riformatori dello Studio di Padova. The Riformatori made recommendations for faculty appointments, on salaries, and everything else concerning the university. The Venetian Senate almost always turned the recommendations into law.[28]

The majority of other Italian universities also had magistracies to govern the university and to serve as buffers between the highest level of civil authority and the university. The Venetians came to this arrangement late. But the Venetians endowed the Riformatori with considerably more power than did other governments. To begin with, the Venetian Riformatori enjoyed extraordinary constitutional privileges. The term of office was two years, far beyond the norm of six months to one year for other important offices in Venice. Moreover, the Senate decreed that the Riformatori could hold that office simultaneously with other very high offices. This was unprecedented in a state which resolutely forbade pluralism. The justification for this departure from constitutional practice was that "the things of the University of Padua are of such importance and honor to our State...."[29] It meant that the most powerful leaders of the state might simultaneously serve as Riformatori and in other offices at the very pinnacle of the Venetian government. Some did exactly that.

A certain kind of patrician almost always held the office of Riformatore. He was a learned, senior man who had already reached the inner circle of Venetian government. At least two thirds of the Riformatori had earned university doctorates. They were politically so powerful that they were repeatedly elected to the offices of Savio Grande and Ducal Counsellor, the highest administrative and legislative posts in the government. Several Riformatori held important ambassadorships. Some were Procurators of St. Mark; two became doges. In other words, the Venetian patricians who served as Riformatori came from the tiny group of fewer than 50 nobles who ran the Venetian government in any given 10-to-20—year period. These men also held the office of Riformatore where they directed the university.[30] A typical example was Nicolò Da Ponte (1491-1585). He obtained a doctorate in philosophy from the Venetian College of Physicians in 1514.[31] He then taught at the Scuola di Rialto from 1521 to 1523. In his long and illustrious political career, Da Ponte was repeatedly elected to every major post in the government; he also held several ambassadorships to foreign powers and governorships of subject cities. Da Ponte became a Procurator of St. Mark in 1570 and was doge from 1578 until his death. He served seven terms as Riformatore dello Studio di Padova: 1544-46, 1548-50, 1556-58, 1559-61, 1564-66, 1570-72, and 1574-76.[32] Such men as Nicolò Da Ponte strongly supported the university, and their political weight guaranteed that the Senate would accept their recommendations.

In the 1530s and 1540s the University of Padua became the leading university of Europe in medicine by a wide margin. In 1533 the government established the first on-going professorship of botany or pharmacology anywhere.[33] In 1545 it founded the first university botanical garden.[34] Clinical medicine began in Padua in the early 1540s. And Andreas Vesalius revolutionized the teaching and research on anatomy while a professor at Padua between 1537 and 1543. The university also achieved distinction in law and philosophy. Indeed, the scholarly accomplishments and pedagogical innovations of the University of Padua in the sixteenth century are well known.

Strong governmental support made the achievements possible. There is not space to list the large and small, official and unofficial, actions and decisions on behalf of the university performed by Riformatori and Senate. One example will have to illustrate the many. Vesalius' anatomical research depended on dissecting numerous bodies. The civil authorities helped by handing over the bodies of executed criminals, a standard procedure in university towns with medical faculties. The Venetian governors of Padua went out of their way to help Vesalius: they scheduled executions to coincide with his research and handed over bodies "scarcely dead," in Vesalius' words. Unfortunately—or fortunately—there were not enough executions to satisfy Vesalius. So he encouraged his students to grab bodies from funerals and to rob graves. The authorities looked the other way.[35]

This winking at the law for the sake of anatomical research continued after Vesalius had left. In December, 1556, Gabriele Falloppia, then professor of surgery and anatomy, wrote to the Riformatori to ask for cadavers. Three days later, the Riformatori wrote to a Venetian governor of Padua asking him to provide Falloppia with the body of an executed criminal. If no execution was imminent, he should permit those hired to assist the anatomical dissection to procure "covertly" the body of someone "lowborn and unknown." This would be a great benefit to the university, the Riformatori concluded.[36] In other words, the Riformatori practically ordered the governor to look the other way while the professor's assistants stole the body of someone lacking mourners or whose relatives were so humble that their outraged protests might be ignored.

By any definition, the Venetian patriciate strongly supported the University of Padua. Strong governmental support contrasted with that of some other Italian governments in the Renaissance. And it was in marked contrast to the brutal slashing of university budgets by state and provincial governments in late twentieth-century North America. Why did the Venetian patriciate so strongly support the university?

The first answer was a love of learning fostered by Renaissance humanism. A recent study has documented the humanistic training and interests of the inner circle of Venetian patricians who dominated the government in the fifteenth century. They learned from leading humanistic pedagogues as boys. They then studied at the University of Padua, often earning both arts and law doctorates. Upon completing their studies, these well-educated patricians began the climb up the ladder of political office. Some of them continued to manifest humanistic or philosophical interests in later life.[37] This pattern continued in the sixteenth century. The Venetian patriciate may have been the best-educated ruling class in Renaissance Italy. Such men were likely to support the university and to make wise educational decisions.

The second answer was that building a large, prestigious university was a profitable enterprise for the Republic of Venice. In the middle of the sixteenth century, the Venetian governors of Padua estimated that the university had approximately 1,000 students who spent over 100,000 ducats annually for food, dress, lodging, and other expenses in Padua. University expenses at that time were 9,000 to 12,000 ducats annually and were borne by the city and territory of Padua.[38] Thus, the city of Padua and ultimately the Republic of Venice earned large profits from the university.

The third reason was pride: Venetian patricians were immensely proud of "their" university and happy to boast of its prestigious international reputation. The University of Padua has such a great reputation in

Germany, Flanders, and France that northerners are awarded honors and granted management of important affairs simply because they have been to Padua, wrote a veteran Venetian diplomat in 1549.[39] Such statements of pride in the university were usually allied with a desire to maintain the eminence of the university.

Overall, the University of Padua enjoyed the great good fortune that its faculty included Vesalius, Galileo, and other eminent scholars. But behind the good fortune lay the wise decisions of the Venetian ruling class.

NOTES

1. François Dupuigrenet Desroussilles, "L'Università di Padova dal 1405 al Concilio di Trento," in *Storia della cultura veneta*, vol. 3: *Dal primo Quattrocento al Concilio di Trento*. Girolamo Arnaldi and Manlio Pastore Stocchi, eds., part 2 (Vicenza, 1980), 607-47, at 607. This is the best account of the relations between government and university during the Renaissance.

2. This article is an expanded and revised version of a paper read at the American Historical Association annual meeting in New York City on December 29, 1990. It is a small part of a book in progress tentatively entitled "The Universities of Renaissance Italy." A grant from the Research Division of the National Endowment for the Humanities made research in Italy possible, while the National Humanities Center at Research Triangle Park, N.C., offered a congenial place to write.

3. For the early history of the University of Padua, see Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, eds. Three vols. (Oxford, 1936), vol. 2, 9-21; Nancy G. Siraisi, *Arts and Sciences at Padua. The 'Studium' of Padua before 1350* (Toronto, 1973); and Girolamo Arnaldi, "Il primo secolo dello Studio di Padova," in *Storia della cultura veneta*, Girolamo Arnaldi and Manlio Pastore Stocchi, eds., vol. 2: *Il Trecento* (Vicenza, 1976), 1-18. The University of Padua lacks a definitive survey of its entire history. The best available is Lucia Rossetti, *L'Università di Padova. Profilo storico* (Milan, 1972; reprint. Trieste, 1983).

4. See Archivio Antico dell'Università di Padova (hereafter AAUP), Filza (hereafter F.) 648, ff. 8^{r}, 9^{r-v}, 10^{r-v}, 11^{r}, 20^{r}, 23^{r} ,26^{r-v}, for various measures by the Venetian Senate on behalf of the *studio* from 1406 through 1413. See also Dupuigrenet Desroussilles, "L'Università di Padova," 611-12; and Ronald E. Ohl, "The University of Padua, 1405-1509: An International Community of Students and Professors," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1980).

5. Dupuigrenet Desroussilles, "L'Università di Padova," 611-12, citing the Venetian Senate document. The same is found in AAUP, F. 648, ff. 10^{r-v}.

6. AAUP, F. 505, unpaginated fascicle entitled "Ragguaglio della spesa dello Studio nelli tre secoli XVI, XVII, XVIII." Faculty salaries took 10,170 *fiorini*, with 1,670 going for other expenses. The appearance of the Paduan florin in the document needs explanation. Practically all towns of any size in medieval and Renaissance Europe had their own monetary systems, even Padua and other towns within the Venetian Empire. This meant that the financial decisions expressed in ducats by the Venetian Senate had to be translated into the local money of account, the Paduan *fiorino* or florin in this case. The Paduan documents seem to indicate that those who kept the accounts of the university considered the ducat and florin to be of equal value. However, to avoid confusion, the Venetian ducat rather than the Paduan florin will be used in discussions of the expenses of the University of Padua. Finally, it should be remembered that the ducat and the florin

were monies of account used for calculations. Actual payments, such as for professorial salaries, were made in small silver coins.

7. For Bolognese university expenses, see Archivio di Stato di Bologna (hereafter ASB), Assunteria di Studio, Busta 92, Diversorum. Lettori e collegi, sec. XVI-XVIII, fascicle 8, with fiscal rolls for the academic years 1523-24 and 1526-27. The value of 3.5 Bolognese lire equals one Venetian ducat comes from a bidding war between the universities of Pisa and Bologna for the services of Pietro Pomponazzi, the famous professor of natural philosophy, between 1514 and 1516. The letters indicated that one gold ducat was worth about 3.5 Bolognese lire. See Emilio Costa, "Nuovi documenti intorno a Pietro Pomponazzi," *Atti e memorie della R. Deputazione di storia patria per le provincie di Romagna*, 3rd Series, vol. 21 (1902-03), 277-317. The value of 3.5 to 1 is confirmed by additional letters and documents regarding Pomponazzi in ASB, Assunteria di Studio, Requisiti di Lettori, Busta 52, fascicle 36.

8. See Umberto Dallari, *I rotuli dei lettori legisti e artisti dello Studio Bolognese dal 1384 al 1799*. 4 vols. (1888-1924), vol. 2, 26-60, for the lists of Bolognese faculty during the 1520s.

9. Of course, financial comparisons between universities can only be suggestive because the monetary systems were so complex. In addition, the cost of living, possible tax immunities, and the opportunity to earn additional income through fees for degree examinations and consulting might raise or lower individual professorial incomes.

10. AAUP, F. 648, f. 115^{r-v}, November 8, 1457. Dupuigrenet Desroussilles, "L'Università di Padova," 615, 618-19. See also Vittorio Lazzarini, "Crisi nello Studio di Padova a mezzo il (sic) Quattrocento," *Atti dell'Istituto veneto di scienze lettere ed arti*, tomo 109, Classe di scienze morali e lettere (1950-51), 201-211.

11. Since university matriculation records do not exist for the Renaissance period, enrollments must be determined in other ways. The number of known degrees awarded by Bologna was higher than at Padua. Moreover, Bologna had 80 to 120 professors while Padua had 40 to 60 professors in the second half of the fifteenth century. Hence, it is likely that Bologna had more students than Padua, but not twice as many. A Bolognese enrollment of 1,000 to 1,200 students in the middle of the fifteenth century seems likely. For the count of Bolognese professors, see Dallari, *I rotuli*, vol . 1, passim. Although very few fifteenth-century rolls for the University of Padua survive, one can estimate the size of the faculty from various documents in AAUP.

12. AAUP F. 648, f. 148^{r}, December 16, 1463. Nancy Siraisi, *Avicenna in Renaissance Italy. The 'Canon' and Medical Teaching in Italian Universities after 1500* (Princeton, N.J., 1987), 55, 99, refers to these little-known statutes.

13. AAUP, F. 648, f. 210^{r-v}, January 16, 1478 (1479 if the date is Venetian style in which the year does not change until March 1).

14. Dupuigrenet Desroussilles, "L'Università di Padova," 624.

15. Dupuigrenet Desroussilles, "L'Università di Padova," 623, Senate decisions of June 25, 1477, and December 22, 1479. Original citizenship was a legal caste just below patrician status in Venice. It conferred certain privileges barred to commoners such as the right to hold senior secretarial positions in the government.

16. AAUP, F. 648, f. 212^{v}, Senate decree of March 29, 1479.

17. See Carlo Malagola, ed., *Statuti delle università e dei collegi dello Studio bolognese* (Bologna, 1888; rpt. Turin, 1966), 390-91, 426, 431, 438, 462; and Guido Zaccagnini, *Storia*

dello Studio di Bologna durante il Rinascimento (Geneva, 1930), 146-47. A quick glance at the faculty rolls for Bologna in Dallari, *I rotuli*, shows an overwhelming predominance of Bolognese noble names. The same was true for other universities, but there is not room for documentation here.

18. See Paul F. Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540-1605* (Princeton, N.J., 1977), 32-34.

19. They were Cosma Contarini who taught canon law in the 1440s and 1450s and Francesco Barozzi who taught canon law from the 1440s until 1466 when he became a bishop. Both appear to have been clergymen and, therefore, ineligible to hold Venetian public office. For their teaching careers, see Annalisa Belloni, *Professori giuristi a Padova nel secolo XV. Profili bio-bibliografici e cattedre* (Frankfurt am Main, 1986), 183-84, 194; and Margaret L. King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance* (Princeton, N.J., 1986), 332-33.

20. Belloni, *Professori giuristi*, 326, 329, 335, 337, 338, 339, 341, 344, 345, 347, 348, 352, 353, 354, 357. See also King, *Venetian Humanism*, 339, 347-48, 350-51, 357-59, 399-400, 402-05, 407-08, 436-37. Although the information is very sparse and does not include clear indication of noble status in most cases, patrician status can be assumed if the individuals are Venetian and bear noble family names. Those assumed to be patricians bore the following noble family names: Bernardo, Canal, Contarini, Dandolo, Marino (an uncommon noble name, but see King, *Venetian Humanism*, 399-400), Molin, Morosini, Pesaro, Priuli, Trevisan, Venier, and Zeno. It is possible but not likely that one of more of these men were illegitimate sons of noble fathers. Bastards were often sent off to a monastery at an early age, not given expensive educations at Padua.

21. See Paul 0. Kristeller, "Un codice padovano di Aristotele postillato da Francesco ed Ermolao Barbaro," in his *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* (Rome, 1956), 337-53, at 346. I thank Professor Kristeller for bringing this to my attention. See also E. Bigi, "Barbaro, Ermolao," in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 6 (Rome, 1974), 96-99.

22. A few Venetian nobles held teaching posts at the small university-level Scuola di Rialto (which taught philosophy) and Scuola di San Marco (humanities) in Venice. They usually taught for a few years in their youth before election to political posts.

23. See James Bruce Ross, "Venetian Schools and Teachers—Fourteenth to Early Sixteenth Century: A Survey and a Study of Giovanni Battista Egnazio," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 39 (1976), 521-66, at 562-66, for seven nobles who taught there between 1400 and 1550.

24. See the *relazione* (concluding report) of the Venetian podestà Bernardo Navagero in 1549 in *Relazioni dei rettori veneti in Terraferma*, vol. 4: *Podestaria e capitanato di Padova* (Padua, 1975), 22-24.

25. AAUP, F. 648, ff. 262^{r}, 277^{r}, 294^{r}-295^{v}, 302^{r-v}, 334^{r}, 339^{r}, 362^{r}, 394^{r}. There are also in this filza many salary raises granted to professors already on the faculty.

26. AAUP, F. 648, ff. 137^{r-v}, 139^{r-v} (April 18 and 20, 1461), 233^{r-v} (October 24, 1480).

27. Antonio Favaro, "Lo Studio di Padova nei Diarii di Marino Sanuto," *Nuovo archivio veneto*, 3rd series, 36 (1918), 90-94; no author, "Bagarotti, Bertuccio," *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 5 (Rome, 1963), 169-170; Dupuigrenet Desroussilles, "L'Università di Padova," 625-626.

28. A. Favaro, "Lo Studio," 98, 99, 100, 104, for the entries from Sanudo's diaries concerning the activities of the Riformatori in 1517 and shortly thereafter; and Dupuigrenet Desroussilles, "L'Università di Padova," 629-30.

29. "Le cose del Studio di Padoa, che sono di quella importantia, et honor al stato nostro...." From the Senate law of July 29, 1557, dealing with the Riformatori in the copy in AAUP, F. 737, f. 15^{r}.

30. AAUP, F. 737, ff. 11^{r}-16^{r}, for copies of various laws regarding the Riformatori. For lists of the Riformatori, see AAUP, F. 508, no foliation, and F. 737, ff. 18^{r}-21^{v}. Antonio Favaro, *Galileo Galilei e lo Studio di Padova*. 2 vols. (Florence, 1883) vol. 2, 430-32, prints the list of Riformatori for the period 1587-1614. For the political careers of the patricians who served as Riformatori, see Paul F. Grendler, "The *Tre Savii sopra Eresia* 1547-1605: A Prosopographical Study," *Studi Veneziani*, N. S., 3 (1979), 283-340, passim; this article is reprinted in Grendler, *Culture and Censorship in Late Renaissance Italy and France* (London, 1981), ch. X, with the same pagination. See also Grendler, "The Leaders of the Venetian State, 1540-1609: A Prosopographical Analysis," to appear in *Studi Veneziani*, passim. I know of no study on the Reformatori in the sixteenth century.

31. Richard Palmer, *The 'Studio' of Venice and its Graduates in the Sixteenth Century* (Trieste, 1976), 76. The College of Physicians did no teaching but had the authority to confer degrees. Da Ponte had studied at the Scuola di Rialto and perhaps elsewhere.

32. See Grendler, "*Tre Savi*" 310-12, for his political career. See AAUP, F. 508, no pagination, for his service as Riformatore.

33. The roll of the University of Rome listed a lecturer to teach medicinal simples in 1514. But nothing is known about this lectureship, and it is not likely that it continued. See Filippo Maria Renazzi, *Storia dell'Università degli Studj di Roma*, 4 vols. (Rome, 1803-06; reprint. Bologna, 1971), vol. 2, 65-66, 239, 245-46.

34. The botanical garden at the University of Pisa was founded at about the same time. But because the documentation is sparse and chronologically unclear, scholars tend to award the honor of the first botanical garden to Padua.

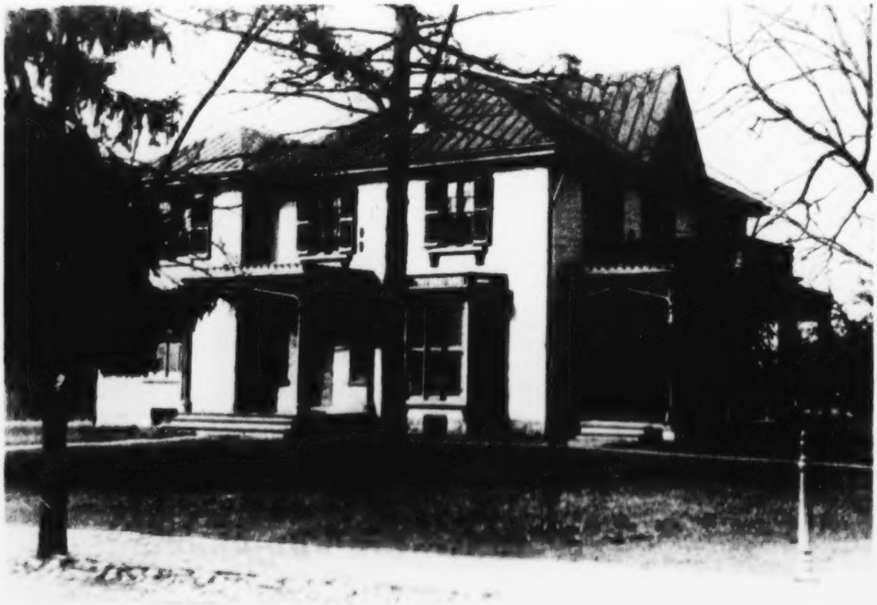
35. C.D. O'Malley, *Andreas Vesalius of Brussels 1514-1564* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1964), 201, 370, 436, n. 5.

36. "et non havendo suggieto (sic) da far morire vogli permetter che li masari possino covratamente procaciarsi di qualche corpo quando li venga occasione di persona ignobile et non cognosciuta, per che questo serà di gran giovamento a tutto questo studio." Letter of the Riformatori to the podestà of Padua, December 15, 1566, printed in Giuseppe Favaro, *Gabrielle* (sic) *Falloppia modense (MDXXIII-MDLXII). Studio biografico* (Modena, 1928), 227.

37. King, *Venetian Humanism*, 18-25, 212-213, 225, n. 53, and the "Profiles" on 315-451. At least 31 of the 46 lay patrician humanists profiled had Paduan training; so did another seven clerical patrician humanists. Original citizens and commoner humanists also went to Padua.

38. See the *relazioni* of the Venetian governors of 1549 (Bernardo Navagero) and March 8, 1554 (Marc'Antonio Grimani) in *Relazioni*, 24, 40, 41.

39. See the lengthy panegyric of the university by Bernardo Navagero, a veteran Venetian diplomat who had just concluded a term as podestà at Padua, in *Relazioni*, 24-25.



Professor Justin R. Loomis built this house near the Bucknell campus in 1855. The University purchased the Loomis house in the 1880s. The house has served as the president's residence ever since. *Courtesy*: Bucknell University Archives.

When Professors Had Servants: Prestige, Pay, and Professionalization, 1860-1917

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ONE SUMMER'S DAY IN 1860, A CENSUS TAKER visited large Victorian homes on wide tree-lined streets in the South Ward of Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, near the University of Lewisburg—a college renamed Bucknell University in 1886. The census taker found all five members of the college faculty living on one street. Rev. Justin Loomis, a 49-year old professor who came to Lewisburg in 1854, lived in a house worth $5,000 with his wife Mary, three children, and a servant. His colleagues Rev. George Bliss, Charles James, and Thomas Curtis also lived in substantial homes. Young, newly appointed Rev. Francis Tustin, his wife, and servant shared nearby rented quarters. The five faculty members listed personal estates that averaged $1,000, in addition to their houses. Only James lacked a servant. But his household included two young women who probably provided service. The neighbors of these faculty members included many affluent and powerful citizens of Lewisburg.[1]

Most historical accounts clash with our census taker's disclosure that the faculty of this small, rural Baptist college lived comfortably among the local elite. Frederick Rudolph, in *The American College and University*, concluded that "everyone knew that faculty salaries were distressingly low," and that faculty poverty "helped to alienate a large body of American intellectuals from the mainstream of American life."[2] Laurence Veysey lamented that "paid little, burdened by an unexciting routine, the professor of this period [mid to late 1800s] clung to the coat tails of the slowly sinking New England tradition."[3] Merle Curti contrasted old-time scholars "whom more worldly friends regarded with the same pity and admiration that medieval knights and merchants must have shown the monks" with the new university "type who dressed, talked, and acted very much as a man of the world" and who "immersed himself in the main stream of events."[4] Historians based their assumptions about faculty pay, standard of living, and social status on the testimony of late nineteenth century university reformers who created the new academic culture—including a professional professoriate—that the historians inherited.[5] Simple versions of modernization theory guided these historical accounts: the more negative the depiction of pre-modern academia, the greater the "progress."[6]

Several scholars have recently developed an alternate interpretation. Colin Burke disputed the claim that professionalization brought higher salaries and greater security.[7] Lewis Perry portrayed nineteenth century college faculty members as members of small town and urban cultural elites, not as isolated ministers unable to obtain a pulpit.[8] Yale faculty members, Louise Stevenson found, blended evangelical Protestant assumptions with lively interests in literary, social, and scientific problems.[9] Frank Stricker demonstrated that academic salaries were much higher than the salaries of most Americans between 1890 and World War I. Faculty members often underestimated their economic position, Stricker added, because they compared their salaries to their perceived social equals. The increase in modestly paid junior faculty positions in research universities also widened the perceived gap.[10]

This article contributes to the new interpretation of academic professionalization by analyzing faculty status and pay in four colleges and in the surrounding communities between 1860 and 1910. Bucknell University combined Baptist denominationalism and local boosterism. Founded in a small central Pennsylvania town in the 1840s and misnamed a "university," Lewisberg/Bucknell became a strong liberal arts college. Franklin and Marshall College—a product of German Reformed commitment—developed a remarkable intellectual tradition. The college eventually situated in Lancaster, Pennsylvania and slowly Anglicized, but it remained small. Scottish and Scotch-Irish Presbyterianism supported The College of New Jersey (founded 1746, Princeton University after 1896). A traditional liberal arts college until the early 1900s, Princeton then parlayed social status and wealth to add a prestigious graduate school and become a somewhat reluctant university by World War I. Swarthmore College—founded in 1869 by Hicksite Quakers who favored science and electives over a prescribed classical curriculum—defies most images of a liberal arts college. Swarthmore dropped much of its Quaker distinctiveness after 1900 and became a prestigious liberal arts college. These four private, non-urban, primarily undergraduate colleges with predominantly white, male, Protestant student bodies reflect the range of traditional liberal arts colleges. They therefore invite a test of the older and newer interpretations. Indeed, the careful records compiled by census takers permit an assessment of the social status of college faculty before the triumph of university-based professionalization.

This study analyzes the censuses in the four college towns from 1860 through 1910.[11] I located 328 faculty and presidential households in the 19 relevant censuses. Then I sampled 571 neighbors, defined as residents of the ten nearest houses. Finally I sampled each college town as a whole coding 998 households.[12] Most faculty members, the census data suggests, were affluent and lived among the town's elite. The Lewisberg neighbors of the

Bucknell faculty, for instance, included Thomas Frey, a flour manufacturer with an $18,000 house and Daniel Kreamer, a reaper manufacturer, who listed personal wealth of $10,000 and a $5,000 house. Professionals and skilled craftsmen headed most other neighboring households.[13] Princeton's faculty had even more affluent neighbors. Professor Lyman Atwater lived next to the wealthy widow Susan Brown whose house was valued at $100,000 and personal wealth at $50,000. Prof. Stillwell Schank's more typical neighbors included a tailor, a dry goods merchant, and a banker. Swarthmore, which required its faculty to live in the main building of the college in the 1870s, is harder to measure.[14]

The 1860 and 1870 censuses directly measured economic status by recording the value of "real estate" and of "personal estate." Faculty members, both measures show, had more wealth than their neighbors who, in turn, had greater affluence than the general community. Among faculty who reported their personal estate, 80.7 percent listed over $1,000 as opposed to 11.9 percent of their neighbors and 3.8 percent of the general community. No faculty member recorded less than $100, only a majority of neighbors and community reported such nominal sums (Table 1).

Table 1: Personal Estate, 1860 and 1870 (in percents)

	Faculty		Neighbors		Community	
	All	Respondents	All	Respondents	All	Respondents
None listed	8.8		15.4		25.3	
Under $100	0.0	0.0	53.7	63.5	59.1	79.1
$100-$999	17.6	19.4	20.7	24.5	12.8	17.2
$1,000-4,999	52.9	58.1	8.0	9.4	2.8	3.8
$5,000-49,999	11.8	12.9	2.1	2.5	0.0	0.0
$50,000+	8.8	9.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	N=34	N=31	N=188	N=159	N=320	N=239

Note: The meaning of blanks in the census is ambiguous. Tables 1 and 2 provide two columns of figures under "Faculty," "Neighbors," and "Community." The figures under "All" include every family in the sample. The figures under "Respondents" are calculated only from families that responded to the question.

Reports of real estate value yield the same result. If non-reporting indicated non-owners, 32.4 percent of faculty, 41.5 percent of their neighbors, and 51.9 percent of the community did not own homes. Faculty homes were slightly more valuable than the homes of their neighbors, and considerably more valuable than the average home in the community. For instance, 79.3 percent of faculty homes, 70.9 percent of neighbor homes, and 53.2 percent of homes in the community were valued at $2,000 or more (Table 2).[15]

Table 2: Real Estate, 1860 and 1870 (in percents)

	Faculty		Neighbors		Community	
Real Estate Value	All	Respondents	All	Respondents	All	Respondents
None listed	32.4		41.5		51.9	
Under $500	2.9	4.3	5.9	10.0	1.6	3.2
$500-1,999	11.8	17.4	11.21	9.1	20.9	43.5
$2,000-9,999	29.4	43.5	26.1	44.5	19.7	40.9
$10,000-99,999	23.5	34.8	14.9	25.5	5.9	12.3
$100,000+	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.9	0.0	0.0
	N=34	N=23	N=188	N=110	N=320	N=154

Lee Soltow, in *Men and Wealth in the United States, 1850-1870*, calculated that three to four percent of white, adult males in America owned real estate valued over $10,000. In the four-college sample, 23.5 percent of the faculty, 15.4 percent of their neighbors, and 5.9 percent of the entire community possessed this much real estate. The mean value of real estate in Soltow's sample was $1,492 in 1860 and $1,782 in 1870. The figures for faculty members are about 2.5 times higher: $4,146 and $4,000. Soltow then averaged real estate (double weighted) and personal estate to create a measure of total estate. His figure for white adult males in 1870 is $2,691. "Total estate" for the faculty is $5,898—over twice the national average.[16]

The census asked no questions about wealth after 1870, so inferential measures must be used for later dates. Fortunately, all five censuses reported the number of household "servants."[17] The 1860 and 1870 censuses show that the presence of servants is an excellent surrogate for wealth. In these censuses, 76.7 percent of faculty households, 27.7 percent of their neighbors, and 10.0 percent of the entire community had servants. The figures for respondents who listed personal estates of $100 or more are strikingly parallel: faculty—91.2 percent; neighbors—30.8 percent; and community—15.6 percent. Faculty affluence persisted in subsequent decades, if the presence of servants continued to reflect wealth. But the differential declined, especially with respect to faculty neighbors. Between 1880 and 1910, the percentage of faculty homes with servants declined from 76.7 percent to 55.4 percent. The figures for neighbors—28.0 percent—and the community—8.9 percent—remained relatively stable. Between 1860 and 1910, faculty members were twice as likely to have servants as their neighbors—58.1 percent vs. 28.6 percent—and five times as likely as the community (Table 3). Even young, recently married faculty members often employed servants. Rev. Henry Van Dyke, a Princeton English professor and author of *The Other Wise Man*, headed the most extensive household in the sample: the 12 members included five servants. Affluence permitted large faculty households. The households in the sample averaged six members, including spouses, children, servants—mostly Irish-American or African-American—and relatives outside the nuclear family.

Table 3: Servants Living in Households, 1860-1910 (in percents)

No. of Servants	Faculty	Neighbors	Community
None	41.9	71.5	90.7
1	32.1	19.8	7.1
2	16.2	6.4	1.4
3+	9.8	2.4	0.6
	N=315	N=517	N=927

Table 4 compares the professions of the faculty neighbors to the entire community. These neighbors were almost three times more likely to be professionals or proprietors of large enterprises (23.5 percent) than the community in general (8.8 percent). Fewer neighbors were manual workers and small businessmen (47.7 percent) than in the whole community (65.9 percent). The same general patterns emerge if the data is divided between the 1860-1880 and 1900-1910 censuses. Changes in the census and in sampling techniques precludes comparisons between the two periods. But all the data shows that faculty members lived among the affluent, and even the elite.[18] The elusive designation "none" (including "retired") probably hides a greater disparity between faculty neighborhoods and the community. Phrases like "living on own income" suggest that many neighbors who responded "none" were independently wealthy. "None" in other parts of town was often linked with poverty.

Table 4: Professions of Faculty Neighbors and the Community

Profession	1860-1910		1860-1880		1900-1910	
	Neigh.	Comm.	Neigh.	Comm.	Neigh.	Comm.
Professional	14.7	5.3	7.3	3.8	19.5	6.8
Large Proprietor	8.8	3.5	7.3	3.0	8.8	3.9
Small Business/Artisan	29.6	37.7	33.6	42.0	25.8	33.2
Skilled/Semiskilled	6.0	6.9	4.6	3.2	6.9	10.7
Unskilled	12.1	21.3	14.9	21.1	13.1	21.4
Keeping House	9.3	10.6	15.6	15.3	4.5	5.7
None	16.5	10.8	11.1	6.8	19.5	14.9
Other	3.2	4.1	5.7	4.9	1.9	3.3
	N=571	N=927	N=262	N=470	N=309	N=457

Faculty members were relatively wealthy, but college teaching might still have been a poorly-paid "calling." Many faculty members maintained a higher standard of living than their salaries alone could have provided.

Some faculty members inherited wealth, and many faculty wives listed separate personal wealth in the 1860 and 1870 censuses. "Noblesse oblige," no doubt, was involved in some career decisions. The removal of questions about wealth after the 1870 census forces us to examine faculty salaries directly.

Faculty members and university reformers frequently complained about inadequate collegiate salaries, but nineteenth century college faculty members earned considerably more money than most Americans.[19] Faculty salaries at the four colleges ranged from about $1,000 to $3,400, and averaged about $2,000 between 1860 and 1880. Presidential salaries ranged from $1,200 at Buckne[illegible] in the 1860s to $4,000 and a house for the presidents of Princeton and Swar[illegible]more in the 1880s.[20]

Franklin and Marshall professors averaged about $1,200 and presidential salaries ranged from $1,500 to $1,800 between 1860 and 1880. The average annual wage in Lancaster's 15 leading industries ranged from $168 to $290 in 1850 and from $204 to $461 in 1880. Faculty salaries were almost three times the average wage in Lancaster's best paid industry—tinware and copper—over four times the salary in the median industry, and seven times the salary in the fifteenth industry. Presidents earned four times more than tin and copper workers, six times the industrial wage, and nine times the salary in the fifteenth industry.[21]

A recent study of Lancaster provides a direct comparison of college and industrial compensation. Lancaster's manufacturing wages resembled the average industrial wage in the Middle Atlantic States—about $350 in 1880, thus providing a regional comparison for salaries at the other three colleges.[22] From the 1860s through the 1880s, faculty salaries at the other three colleges were higher than Franklin and Marshall salaries—averaging slightly more than $2,000. Faculty members earned over five times and presidents received as much as 12 times the average industrial wage in the region.

We must rely upon national comparisons for later decades. The average national salary in 1910 has been estimated at $1,156 for clerical workers and at $630 for industrial workers. By then a few highly paid professors received $4,000 but most of their colleagues received between $1,700 and $2,200. Assistant professors—a growing rank—typically received about $1,500. The average full professor thus received about twice the salary of clerical workers and over three times the salary of industrial workers in 1910. Faculty salaries remained well ahead of industrial workers, but the differential was slipping. Colin Burke has calculated that the differential between faculty salaries and unskilled worker salaries declined from 5.2 in 1890 to 4.0 in 1910.[23] Salaries in some occupations rose sharply between 1890 and World War I, a rise matched in academia only by "stars." Academics benefitted from prolonged deflation in the last three decades of the nineteenth century, but suffered in the twentieth century when inflation cut into real faculty salaries, especially after 1910.[24]

If faculty members were affluent, what do we make of the claim in an 1883 *North American Review* article that only Columbia and Johns Hopkins paid decent faculty salaries?[25] University presidents often made self-serving, exaggerated statements that contrasted the shortcomings of colleges and the advantages of university-based professionalization. But this claim also reflected the growing affluence of peer groups—especially the professionals and industrialists who were their neighbors. Even the highly paid Princeton faculty's standard of living paled next to that of the growing numbers of plutocrats who moved to Princeton after Grover Cleveland retired there from the presidency in 1897. Trustees, who set faculty salaries, were increasingly drawn from wealthy industrialists and bankers. More students came from wealthy families and fewer graduates entered the modestly rewarded clerical and teaching professions. The standard of living of the highly paid Princeton faculty paled in contrast to these groups. Their declining advantage over industrial workers provided little comfort. The thought that manual workers might cross the sharp social divide between working and middle class must have terrorized many faculty members. Faculty families usually conformed to the middle class ideal of a single "bread winner," so multiple-earner working class families posed a psychological threat. Professors, like many progressive era professionals, felt squeezed from above by the wealthy and from below by the working class. Their salaries declined relatively in the early 1900s, but academics were poor only when compared to their wealthy neighbors, trustees, and students.

If tales of college faculty impoverishment were exaggerated, did academic professionalization bring economic gains for faculty members? Princeton and Swarthmore, the two colleges that most fully adopted university values, did pay the highest salaries. Princeton raised Woodrow Wilson's salary to $3,500 and an assistant when the University of Illinois offered him its presidency in 1892. Alumni later established a secret annual subsidy to counter a similar offer from the University of Virginia.[26]

Swarthmore faculty also developed bargaining power. The Board of Managers reduced faculty salaries by ten percent during the 1893 depression and refused to restore the cuts for several years. But a decade later Swarthmore gave professor John Lowes an assistant and a $1,000 library budget for English literature to counter an offer from the University of Indiana. Astronomer John Miller conditioned his acceptance of a Swarthmore appointment on the purchase of a 24-inch telescope. President Swain then suggested that Miller give up smoking before assuming the post. Miller refused to swear off the noxious weed and Swain backed down.[27]

Bucknell and Franklin and Marshall—less committed to university values—kept professorial salaries in the $1,500 range throughout the 1890s and 1900s. Swarthmore and Princeton—more accepting of the academic revolution—paid their professors about $2,000 and over $3,000, respectively. But the correlation obscures the causation. Princeton and Swarthmore paid higher wages well before implementing reforms. Princeton paid its faculty twice the salaries paid in Lewisburg and Lancaster throughout the McCosh presidency. Swarthmore's salaries averaged about 1.5 times the salaries of its Pennsylvania rivals once it decided to be a college rather than a normal school in the 1880s. The academic revolution may not have lifted salaries. Instead, affluent colleges may have had the first option to partake in that revolution.

The material benefits of the academic revolution were unevenly distributed. Woodrow Wilson and other stars clearly benefited. But average salaries changed little, and disparities within faculty ranks increased considerably. The salaries of the best and worst paid professors differed by about 25 percent in 1890. The lower academic ranks contained relatively few faculty members. Except for the stars, this relative equality among senior faculty continued into the 1910s. But the growing number of lower paid junior faculty, especially at Swarthmore and Princeton held down the average salary and increased inequality. The salaries of Swarthmore's 14 professors averaged $3,000 in 1915. The eight assistant professors received $1,500 to $2,000, and 14 instructors received $800 to $1,200. Princeton also employed large numbers of faculty members in the lower two ranks at similar salaries. The salaries of Wilson's famous young "preceptors" ranged from $1,400 to $2,000 in 1905. Princeton attached a $2,000 salary to the assistant professor rank when it created a tenure system in 1915, and also hired "assistants" (presumably graduate students) at a mere $425.[28]

The difference between presidential and faculty salaries also grew. Before 1890, presidential salaries only marginally exceeded professorial earnings. Franklin and Marshall's John Nevin, for instance, made $1,500 in the 1860s when his faculty colleagues received $1,200. James McCosh received $4,000 while Princeton professors earned $3,400. But McCosh's successor made $8,000 when he left office in 1902, twice the salary of any professor except Wilson. Presidents John Harris of Bucknell and Joseph Swain of Swarthmore also made about twice the salary of their professors in the 1900s. Only the salary of Henry Apple, who assumed the Franklin and Marshall presidency in 1909, remained in the same range—$2,200—as his faculty. Faculty affluence continued, but the expansion of lower paid ranks and the greater disparity between presidential and faculty salaries further damaged faculty perceptions of their living standards, and encouraged them to exaggerate their relative decline.

Nineteenth century college faculty members were highly paid and had a high standard of living and social status. University-based academic professionalization, in contrast, was more problematic than usually depicted. Faculty complaints must be understood in the changing context of their communities. Most faculty members in 1860 lived in small towns, were part of the local elite that included doctors, lawyers, ministers, and businessmen, and had servants. Their income and wealth distinguished them from most of the population. The "academic revolution" came slowly even to Princeton and Swarthmore. But the revolution made faculty members, like other members of the "new" middle class, more geographically mobile. They developed national reference groups and participated in national professional organizations. After World War I, the revolution increasingly encompassed faculty members at Bucknell and Franklin and Marshall. But a national academic profession became feasible and appropriate only after a national corporate economy and its concomitant institutions developed.

The emergence of new roles for faculty members at all four institutions should not affect our evaluation of their predecessors' role in a different social structure. Curti, Rudolph, and Veysey portrayed college faculty members—especially clerically-trained academics—as socially marginal misfits, but "old-time college" faculty members participated in a lively local and denominational intellectual life. Theological seminaries offered the most promising path for students who desired an intellectual profession—their curricula often included topics later grouped into the "humanities" and "social sciences"—and college teaching was one of several careers for their graduates.[29] Denominational journals remained important scholarly publications until the maturation of discipline-centered journals at the turn of the century. As the national academic profession developed, faculty members replaced local, ethnic, and denominational concerns with the issues of the emerging national culture. Thus freed from some limitations, faculty members also lost earlier roles. Professionalization may have increased the alienation of professors from some segments of society—the reverse of the conventional image.

The academic revolution did not necessarily produce increased wealth and status. Measured by wealth, employment of servants, and location of residence, the faculty at these four late nineteenth century colleges do not exhibit privation. Nor is there evidence of increased status or wealth after the turn of the century, even at the two institutions that most rapidly adopted university values. Instead, as Colin Burke suggested, the relative economic standing of the average faculty member probably declined during the early 1900s. The unprecedented salaries of a few stars should not obscure the fate of the average faculty member nor the growing inequality within academia.

"Modernization" theory, which informed earlier accounts of academic professionalization, encouraged scholars to view the triumph of university values and academic professionalization as a response to a long ignored, national demand. This perspective fit the outlooks of the university reformers and of the historians who wrote histories of higher education in the 1950s and 1960s. But recent scholarship suggests that academic professionalization reflected more than the triumph of specialized knowledge over sectarianism and parochialism. The process also reflected the triumph of a national upper middle class culture at the turn of the century. This culture embraced a broad, respectable Protestantism, shorn of most denominationalism, that downplayed ethnic differences. Distinctive denominationalism, ethnicity, and localism lost out to the new culture in these colleges, as in the upper middle class. A less triumphal, more realistic interpretation of the academic revolution will yield a better understanding of the strengths and shortcomings of modern academic life.

NOTES

I would especially like to thank the editor and an anonymous reader for their thoughtful comments. Frank Stricker also graciously shared his expertise, carefully commenting on my draft. My full-length study of these four colleges will be published by Pennsylvania State University Press in 1992.

1. 1860 United States Census Reel 1188, Lewisburg South Ward, Visits # 1084, 1166, 1167, 1168, and 1169.

2. Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), 197, 200.

3. Laurence Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1965), 7.

4. Merle Curti, *American Scholarship in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953), 19.

5. Similar images persist in more recent scholarship. See especially, Burton Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism* (New York: Norton, 1976), 269.

6. Two important works that measure developments from this beginning are: Steven Diner, *A City and Its Universities: Public Policy in Chicago, 1892-1919* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 4-8, and David O. Levine, *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration, 1915-1940* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1986), 19 and 33.

7. Colin Burke, *American Collegiate Populations* (New York: New York University Press, 1982), 232-233.

8. Lewis Perry, *Intellectual Life in America* (New York, 1984), chs. 4-6.

9. Louise Stevenson, "Between the Old-Time College and the Modern University: Noah Porter and the New Haven Scholars," *History of Higher Education Annual* 3 (1983), 39-57; and *Scholarly Means to Evangelical Ends: The New Haven Scholars and the*

Transformation of Higher Learning in America, 1830-1890 (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press, 1986).

10. Frank Stricker, "American Professors in Progressive Era: Incomes, Aspirations, and Professionalism," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 19 (Autumn, 1988), 231-257. Working separately and using different methodologies and samples, we reached similar conclusions.

11. Surprisingly the manuscript census has been overlooked. While checking Colin Burke's assertion that the census was of little use in studying students, I discovered that one could "recover" a surprising proportion of the faculty from the censuses of college towns. Except for Franklin and Marshall in 1880, I found at least half of the total faculty members in every census and, on the average, about two-thirds of the total faculty. Most lived quite near to their campus. The censuses used were from 1860, 1870, 1880, 1900, and 1910. The 1890 rolls for Pennsylvania and New Jersey were destroyed in a fire. The college towns are in Delaware, Lancaster, and Union Counties in Pennsylvania and Mercer County, New Jersey. Swarthmore did not begin classes until 1869 and is not included in the 1860 data.

12. For the community I chose sampling ratios to yield approximately 50 cases from each college in each census. I will share this data, coded for SPSSX, with interested scholars.

13. 1870 United States Census Reel M653, Lewisburg South Ward, Visits # 14 and 20.

14. Ibid., Reel 871, Princeton Borough, Visits #37 & #405. In its early years Swarthmore was committed to providing students a "guarded education" protecting them from non-Quaker influences and required faculty to live on campus. Census takers treated faculty like students or anyone else living in an institution and recorded minimal data on them. Thus the 1870 and 1880 censuses yield little on Swarthmore's faculty. Ibid., 1870, Reel 1337, Springfield Township, Visit # 186.

15. The figures probably underestimate the wealth of neighbors. The 1860 and 1870 censuses did not record addresses in small towns. Thus I had to record "neighbors" as a sample of the ten nearest census visits. Some "neighbors" probably lived down alleys and around corners. This bias and impressionistic evidence suggest that faculty and their "real" neighbors were more similar than the figures indicate. If so, the conclusion that faculty were living among the local elite is further enhanced.

16. Lee Soltow, *Men and Wealth in the United States, 1850-1870* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1975), 53-77.

17. I tabulated "domestic," "companion," "nurse," and "housekeeper" with those labeled "servant." Since most of those living with faculty families were labelled "servant," including those categories biased the data against my conclusion.

18. The figures comparing 1860-1880 and 1900-1910 show a faster rise in "professionals" and "large proprietors" among neighbors than in the general community. The apparent increase was at least partially due to sampling technique. Unlike the 1860-1880 censuses, those in 1900 and 1910 recorded street addresses permitting identification of actual neighbors (i.e., those living within five houses on the same street) and eliminating those who may have lived in alleys or side streets but were among the 5 closest census entries. My decision to use street addresses makes the 1900 and 1910 neighbor cohorts more accurate, but it skews comparisons of data with the earlier censuses, presumably exaggerating the increase in neighbor's status in this case.

19. Stricker, "American Professors in Progressive Era," 248-251.

20. The figures for faculty salaries were derived primarily from trustee minutes. Unfortunately the minutes did not record salaries every year. It was often not clear whether the reported figures included housing or other perquisites.

21. Thomas R. Winpenny, *Industrial Progress and Human Welfare: The Rise of the Factory System in the 19th Century Lancaster* (Washington: University Press of America, 1982), 92-93. My estimates agree with Colin Burke's national figures showing faculty salaries to have been four to five times those of unskilled workers. Burke, *American Collegiate Populations*, 233.

22. Clarence Long, *Wages and Earnings in the United States, 1860-1890* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1960), 40, 68, 150.

23. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975), 168. For another measure, see National Bureau of Economic Research, *Income in the United States: Its Amount and Distribution, 1909-1919* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, & Co., 1921 [reprint, Arno Press, 1975]), 102-3. Burke, *American Collegiate Populations*, 233.

24. See Striker, "American Professors in Progressive Era," 244-256 for an excellent discussion of these perceptions.

25. Rossiter Johnson, "College Endowments," *North American Review* 136 (May, 1883), 490-6.

26. Arthur Link, ed, *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969-), 7: 609-635, 10: 481-531; John Mulder, *Woodrow Wilson: The Years of Preparation* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978), 135-156.

27. Swarthmore College, *Instruction Committee Minutes* (Friends Historical Library), March 9, 1896, April 14, 1896, and September 18, 1906. "Quaker Astronomer: John A. Miller," clipping from *The Sky* (March, 1941), Faculty Papers (Friends Historical Library).

28. Since these were predominantly male institutions, the variable of gender has, in effect, been held constant. Only Swarthmore, which was deeply committed to coeducation, hired women as full-time faculty. They appear to have been paid the same salaries as men.

29. Perry, *Intellectual Life in America*, 254-269; Stevenson, *Scholarly Means to Evangelical Ends*, 14-29, 138-147, and Donald Scott, *From Office to Profession* (Philadelphia, Penn.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978), 148-155.

Subway Scholars at Concrete Campuses: Daughters of Jewish Immigrants Prepare for the Teaching Profession, New York City, 1920-1940

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BETWEEN 1920 AND 1940, THOUSANDS OF YOUNG Jewish women set out to become teachers in the New York City public school system. These Jewish women soon replaced the daughters of Irish and German immigrants and women of white Anglo-Saxon Protestant backgrounds who constituted the teaching staff of New York's public schools since the late nineteenth century. In 1920, Jews comprised 26 percent of the new recruits to teaching. By 1930, their representation increased to 44 percent. By 1940, 56 percent of the new teachers were Jewish.[1] This transformation did not reflect general changes in the ethnic makeup of New York City. The number of Italian immigrants roughly equalled the number of Jewish immigrants in New York during this period, but the daughters of Italian immigrants rarely became teachers.[2] The Jewish women who entered the teaching profession during the interwar years represented a new, unique contingent.

These aspiring teachers still lived with their parents in Jewish enclaves throughout New York City.[3] Interviews with 61 Jewish women who taught in the New York City public schools during the interwar years revealed that their fathers were small shopkeepers, skilled or semi-skilled workers in the garment industry or the construction trades, peddlers, and salesmen. The mothers of many interviewees were housewives. But a significant minority of mothers worked in garment or light-industry factories. Mothers of all interviewees whose families kept small stores worked in the stores. During the twenties, these parents could forego the wages their daughters would have earned from the factory work or the white collar jobs typically pursued by their older siblings. Indeed, most daughters of immigrants soon came to consider factory work a slide down the socio-economic scale.

Parental dreams of "my daughter, the teacher," and the opportunity to achieve middle-class and professional status through a career that offered intellectual stimulation and a comfortable, secure living, spurred on Jewish women. So did the lack of alternatives for either professional or white collar status. Jewish women were the frequent victims of job discrimination in a city where want-ads—even in the *New York Times*, a Jewish-owned newspaper—stipulated "For Christians Only." Many Jewish women obtained positions with Jewish-owned firms, but restrictive hiring practices severely limited access to business and white collar jobs. The New York Telephone Company, the largest employer in the city, was notorious for refusing to hire Jews. One official declared that Jewish "girls" could not serve as telephone operators because their arms were too short to run the equipment. Nor did the banks, public utilities, and life insurance companies that employed thousands of New Yorkers hire Jews.[4] Most Jewish women greatly preferred a public school teaching career to painful subterfuges, such as changing their names or wearing crosses around their necks, that enhanced their chances for good corporate jobs. The law and the competitive licensing examination, the chief instrument of public school teacher selection, protected Jewish candidates against unfair discrimination even when oral examiners occasionally manifested subtle anti-Semitism. Private schools refused to employ Jews.[5]

During the twenties, the need for teachers in the city's school system far exceeded the supply, and teachers received unprecedented salary increases. The Board of Education built large numbers of new schools and permitted teachers to teach near their homes, rather than cause them to travel great distances.[6] But the Great Depression soon dissipated pleasant teaching conditions and practitioner optimism. Unemployment in New York City was higher for Jewish women than for their white gentile counterparts, and 12 percent of Jewish household heads in New York City were unemployed.[7] Virtually every interviewee classified herself as poor during the thirties. But lacking other prospects, ever-increasing numbers of Jewish women prepared for teaching careers.[8] Their parents now viewed teacher education as a necessity, rather than as an indulgence, and feelings of privilege vanished along with roseate outlooks.

Student determination, however, was coupled with an ever-deepening pessimism about the chances of obtaining a teaching appointment. In 1932, the board banned all new teaching appointments in the city schools. The hiring stoppage ended late in 1934 when 165 teachers received appointments. The number of new positions peaked at 475 in the 1936-37 school year, then dropped off during another freeze that lasted from September 1939 until September 1940.[9] Increasing numbers of Jewish women did manage to secure some type of teaching position. Women who did not obtain regular teaching appointments taught in the summer playground and remedial programs of the Works Progress Administration or held positions underwritten by the City Emergency Work and Relief Administration. Thousands of other Jewish women worked as substitute teachers on a daily basis while waiting for regular appointments. These women performed the duties of regular teachers, but received no benefits, thus providing a substantial savings to the city.[10]

Despite the dark outlook for receiving appointments, women doggedly prepared for teaching careers. During the 1932-1934 hiring ban, 700 Hunter College women graduates filed applications for the June, 1932 teaching license examination, the greatest number of applicants from any institution.[11] Alarmed that the majority of its graduates continued to turn to the overcrowded teaching profession, Hunter College officials prepared a pamphlet entitled "What to Do in the World's Work." The widely-distributed pamphlet identified 275 positions in 165 fields as alternatives to teaching but did little to deter students from pursuing a teaching career.[12] Student polls conducted by Hunter College showed that at the height of the hiring freeze in 1932, 564 of 876 incoming Hunter College freshmen declared their intention to teach, a 20 percent increase over the previous year.[13] In 1933, Hunter reported that more than half of its new students planned to teach. Brooklyn College also reported that the majority of its women graduates sought teaching jobs.[14] Teaching eclipsed all other careers as the choice of Brooklyn and Hunter women throughout the decade.[15]

Aspiring teachers had to pursue a course of study that led first to city and state certification and then to an appointment by the city's Board of Education. These aspirants could attend a private or public liberal arts college or a normal school. They could complete the required courses in three years at a normal school, four years at a liberal arts college, or as much as eight years at the evening sessions at a municipal college.

Private colleges in New York City that provided teacher-training, such as Barnard College or New York University, graduated few Jewish women. Admission quotas and economic barriers made these schools inaccessible to most Jewish women. Few Jewish parents possessed the economic means to pay Barnard's $450 tuition fee per year, even when its Manhattan location permitted New York City residents to forego the cost of room and board.[16] New York City also hosted America's most prestigious teacher-training institution, Teachers College of Columbia University, but its tuition costs were similarly beyond the budgets of most Jewish families.[17]

Growing numbers of the city's middle-class Jews attended other out-of-state colleges including the University of Wisconsin, the University of Chicago, and the Berkeley and Los Angeles campuses of the University of California. But the great majority of attenders were Jewish men.[18] Jewish parents were more willing to invest in the education of their sons than their daughters, and were more reluctant to permit their daughters to live away from home. Many parents rationalized their decision by emphasizing the free education their daughters obtained by commuting to the concrete campuses of a city-supported liberal arts college or teacher-training school.

During the 1920s, New York City maintained three tax-supported teacher-training schools and two four-year colleges: all-male City College of New York and all-female Hunter College. Few city residents chose the remote

New York State-operated teacher-training schools. The city established coeducational Brooklyn College in 1930 and coeducational Queens College in 1937.[19] The municipal colleges provided both teacher-training and a liberal arts education. But the majority of aspirants to positions in the city's elementary school—the largest group of school-teachers—attended The Maxwell Training School for Teachers in Brooklyn,[20] The New York Training School for Teachers in Manhattan, or The Jamaica Training School for Teachers in Jamaica, Queens.

Established in the last decades of the nineteenth-century to provide a two-year curriculum for potential classroom teachers in the city's burgeoning educational system, the teacher-training schools enjoyed steady enrollment increases. Student registration totalled approximately 1,000 prior to 1920. The greatest increases occurred between 1923 to 1929, the years of the teacher shortage. Enrollments increased from approximately 2,300 in 1923 to 6,300 in 1927.[21] In February, 1933, the Board of Education closed the schools to save money and to reduce the number of new teachers.

The municipal schools were overwhelmingly female—varying from almost 92 percent to over 97 percent of the student body during the 1920s. These enrollments reflected the feminization of the American teaching profession that occurred in the preceding century.[22] But, unlike women in teacher-training schools elsewhere, the majority of New York women were the daughters of immigrants, and were primarily Jewish. Only 11 percent of all students training to become teachers in the United States belonged to the first generation, but 61 percent of students enrolled in Brooklyn's Maxwell school and more than 66 percent of the students at the Jamaica training school had foreign-born parents.[23] The schools kept no records to indicate a student's religion, nor did the surveys provide this information, but the *Journal of the New York City Board of Education* and the "School Page" of the *New York Sun* published the names of every pupil-teacher assigned to the city schools, each newly-licensed teacher, each newly-appointed teacher, and the names of their training schools. These lists show that the vast majority of the students at the three municipal teacher-training schools were Jewish. Teacher Personnel Cards, filed in the Board of Education's Bureau of Teachers' Records, list the birth and married names of teachers, and their training institution. More than 70 percent of the 700 female teachers educated at the city teacher-training schools for whom cards exist were Jewish. We cannot determine the precise percentage of New York City's Jewish teacher-trainees, but Jews comprised only 3.5 percent of all students, both male and female, enrolled in teacher-training schools in the entire United States. But the data shows that a unique group of Jewish women attended New York's teacher-training schools.[24]

Prospective teachers at Hunter and Brooklyn Colleges, as well, were predominantly Jewish. A 1937 Hillel Foundation survey of Jewish college students found that 52.1 percent of all women who attended college in New York City were Jewish. Jewish students at City College of New York and Hunter College probably comprised 80 to 90 percent of all enrollments. Brooklyn College students were overwhelmingly first-generation and 80 to 85 percent Jewish.[25] The daughters of Jewish immigrants attended college in greater proportions than their non-Jewish counterparts: 21 percent of the city's college-age Jewish female population but only nine percent of New York City's non-Jewish female population were enrolled in college during the Depression.[26] Only 10.5 to 12.2 percent of all American women attended college at the time. Evidence in yearbooks suggests that approximately three-quarters of the graduates of Brooklyn College and Hunter College during the 1930s were Jewish women. Certainly the majority of female students in the city colleges, like those at the teaching schools, were Jewish daughters of Eastern European immigrants.[27]

The three municipal teacher-training schools offered free professional training and direct preparation for the examination for a teacher's license for students who intended to teach in the city's elementary schools. Students could observe experienced and proficient teaching and classroom management in model schools, practice teaching under the supervision and direction of training-school instructors, and receive remuneration as pupil-teachers. The greatest incentives to attend a training school, rather than a four-year liberal arts college, were the prospect of prompt employment at a salary of about $1,500 per year during the mid-1920s and the shorter time to obtain certification.[28] Interviews do not reveal significant differences in the socio-economic backgrounds of teachers who chose training schools and four-year colleges. Some women attended a training school because they preferred to spend less time in school. Other women said they selected a college because they wanted a broader education than the training schools provided.

Until 1923, the training schools combined theoretical and practical work in their course of study. Students studied the history of education, psychology, and educational measurement. They observed the teaching methods of skilled New York City elementary school teachers throughout the two-year course. Twenty weeks of practice in the elementary schools under the supervision of training school critic-teachers alternated with theory work during the second year.[29]

During the training schools' period of unrivaled popularity, the city's Board of Education replicated attempts by teacher-educators throughout the nation to upgrade the teaching profession by raising standards of admission, revising the curriculum, and extending the years of schooling for teacher-trainees.[30] In 1923, the Board mandated a three-year curriculum that the training schools maintained until 1929.[31] The record of a 1928 Maxwell School graduate reveals the required curriculum. This student studied English, health education, general psychology, sociology, music, drawing, nature study, penmanship, and arithmetic during her first semester. She spent one hour weekly observing in an elementary classroom. The second semester included coursework in English, library practice, health education, educational psychology, music, drawing, geography, and history. Third semester studies included English, health education, psychology, handwork, history and civics, geography, nature study, arithmetic, class management, music, and drawing. The fourth semester was devoted to practice teaching. Student-teachers were graded on discipline, preparation of lessons, skills in presentation and drill, power of exciting interest, blackboard work, and executive ability. This student returned to Maxwell for her fifth and sixth semesters, where she took many of the same courses as in earlier semesters and added pedagogical work, such as kindergarten theory, experimental education, and integration of curriculum. The training-school graduate could take the Board of Education's examination for certification after completing the course. The certificate entitled her to apply for a teaching position in the public schools.[32]

By 1927, the Board of Education, which still desired to improve teacher-preparation standards by extending and modifying the curriculum, realized that the three training schools had produced an over-abundance of teachers. Immigration curtailment after 1924 meant fewer new students in the city's lower grades. Teachers resigned less often than in the past; and married women frequently continued to teach, even after having children.[33] In 1929, the Board issued higher admission requirements to stem enrollments. Besides completing a more comprehensive and prescribed high school course, applicants now needed an average New York State Regents' Examination rating of at least 75 percent. The applicant's high school principal had to rate the student's personality and use of oral English satisfactorily. The student also had to pass a physical examination.[34] At the same time, the number of courses taken per semester at the teacher-training schools was again increased. An optional fourth year of study was added that permitted a student to specialize in a particular subject.[35]

Enrollments dropped considerably by 1930, but the higher standards of admission, the broader, more difficult course of study, and the extended curriculum failed to reduce significantly the number of applicants to the training schools. With the onset of the Depression, the chances for appointment lessened for an increasing backlog of licensed teachers who passed the test but failed to secure positions. The three teaching schools were reorganized as four-year teacher-training colleges that conferred the Bachelor of Pedagogy upon their graduates.[36] This change limited enrollments while reflecting the nationwide trend toward eliminating the low standards that prevailed during a long period of rapid public school growth and high demand for teachers. Now that the supply of teachers exceeded the demand, many educators believed that transforming normal schools into teachers colleges would greatly improve quality.[37]

The new curriculum departed from the usual teacher-training course by emphasizing academic subjects in the first two years, followed by two years of professional subjects.[38] The compulsory four-year course and stringent admission standards drastically reduced the number of applicants to the municipal teacher colleges, and in 1932, these colleges graduated the smallest classes in their history. Satisfied educators noted higher scholarship standards and better qualified teachers than in the past.[39] But, 5,000 eligible teachers still awaited appointments at a time when the maximum rate of appointment was 500 teachers per year. The Board of Education concluded that three municipal colleges would suffice, and abolished the three teacher-training colleges in February, 1933.[40]

The training of most of the city's teachers thus fell to the Hunter College and Brooklyn College education departments. Hunter was established in 1870 as the Normal College of the City of New York to train more and better female teachers for the city's elementary schools. The school was renamed Hunter College of the City of New York in 1914 to honor its founding president, Thomas Hunter. In 1926, Hunter College affiliated with City College of New York, and its official name became Hunter College of The College of the City of New York. By the 1930s, Hunter College was the largest women's college in America. Its original three-year training program included academic subjects during the first two years, followed by a year of pedagogical and professional subjects. The college adopted a four-year curriculum nine years after its founding. By 1902, Hunter was a full-fledged liberal arts college.[41] Brooklyn College of The College of the City of New York was established in 1930 as a four-year liberal arts college. From its inception, Brooklyn College also offered courses designed to qualify students to serve as teachers in the city schools.

The training schools educated most elementary school teachers, who were more than two-thirds of the city's teachers. But women who taught in the high schools, and who therefore needed a college degree, trained primarily at Hunter College.[42] After the 1933 closing of the training schools, most women teachers at all levels of instruction in New York City's public schools studied at either Brooklyn College or Hunter College.

The Brooklyn College and Hunter College courses of study for prospective teachers were similar to programs at liberal arts colleges. Students were discouraged from majoring in education, although many women continued to do so. Educators strongly believed that students should thoroughly learn the subject matter they were to teach and should take only the pedagogy courses that the state required.[43] Students met all college and major department requirements, and took the requisite pedagogical courses: general and educational psychology, history and principles of education, and two methodology courses.[44]

The program also mandated a semester of student-teaching in one of the city's schools, a popular requirement that students approached with both anticipation and trepidation. A former teacher found the theoretical and methodological courses "dry as dust," and recalled "counting the days until we could get into a classroom and face real, live children. Classroom teaching was our reality. That was what we prepared for." She added that "for the first time we really felt like professionals, like real teachers." Department of education faculty members supervised and observed student classroom work, and conducted weekly conferences.

Student-teaching could be the turning point in a young woman's life. Bel Kaufman, Hunter College Class of 1934, and daughter of the Yiddish writer Sholem Aleichem, became a New York City public school teacher "quite by accident." Her friends took education courses, so she "went along" and took them too, including the required student-teaching. The first time she stood in front of a class "and saw all those pairs of eyes—fixed on me, waiting, I knew my goose was cooked. I was *fated* to be a teacher," she reminisced.[45] Kaufman later wrote *Up the Down Staircase*, a best-selling novel about teaching in the city's school system. One interviewee asserted that "we learned, through trial and error, what teaching was all about" during the semester of pupil-teaching.

Jewish women who prepared to teach, whether enrolled in a teacher-training school or a liberal arts college, did not reside in dormitories or attend classes in ivy-covered buildings. Instead they were subway-scholars at New York City's concrete campuses. Most students travelled to the three teacher-training schools on public transportation. Hunter College's Park Avenue and 68th Street location was a remote, barren neighborhood where wild goats roamed when the college moved into its own building in 1873. By the 1920s, the building was part of a canyon of apartment houses, churches, and hospitals.[46] By 1929, Hunter College had an additional building at Lexington and 68th Streets, annexes scattered in several midtown Manhattan locations, and evening sessions in each borough. The college grew so large that it opened a second campus at the Jerome Park Reservoir in the Bronx.[47] Students who attended the Bronx campus vividly remember the long cold trek from the subway to the college through snow and sleet, and the icy wind that blew over the reservoir. Women could not wear slacks, and it "took some of us a good half-hour to thaw out in class," recalled a Hunter alumna.[48] A fire destroyed the Park Avenue building in 1936. Classes were held in rented buildings, and students scrambled from classes in a loft on 32nd Street to classes in one of the annexes. Brooklyn College students emerged from the depths of the subway, dashed across traffic congested streets, and rode elevators to attend classes in the college's original location in a business section of Brooklyn. When the college relocated to its present Flatbush site in 1937, students negotiated wooden planks stretched across muddy fields.[49]

College students often spent more time commuting to college than in their classes. One survey found that the many Hunter students who lived in Brooklyn spent 40 minutes in trains, buses, and trolleys for every 60 minutes in class. Students tried to do homework while in their underground campus. Since they often failed to obtain a seat, many students learned to study while straphanging.[50]

Education at the city's schools was tuition-free, but most students held jobs to pay for books, carfare, and some spending money. These students turned the rest of their earnings over to their families. Evening session students worked at full-time jobs during the day and attended classes at night. Day session students worked both on and off campus: on-campus jobs included working in the libraries, lunchrooms, and laboratories, or serving as tutors; off-campus, their jobs ran the gamut from clerical work to movie ushering and cashiering, to modelling.[51] Macy's department store employed great numbers of women students as part-time salespersons and cashiers for Thursday evenings and Saturdays. But jobs at Macy's were not easy to obtain. Bel Kaufman remembers that successful applicants had to pass an examination that was "almost as difficult as my Master's." She passed the test and was hired, as were so many Hunter students that the college yearbook referred to Macy's as Hunter's "Saturday branch."[52]

Even part-time employment left many women without sufficient funds to buy needed books. The schools often established student loan funds that granted interest-free loans for textbook purchases or laboratory fee payments. Some students even lacked carfare. The family of one student could only allot her five cents per day for transportation. This student could therefore ride to school and walk home, or *vice versa*. Others students were not only poorly clothed, but so malnourished that they fainted from hunger.[53] An "Ode to Higher Education" summed up their plight:

I sing in praise of college,
Of M.A.'s and Ph.D.'s,
But in pursuit of knowledge
We are starving by degrees.[54]

The constant scrimping and saving, the often makeshift conditions at the subway schools, and pessimism about career prospects all embittered many young college women. Many students resented their inability to attend an ivy-covered college away from home, felt "cheated out of a rich college experience on some more pleasant and fashionable campus," and believed their Alma Mater to be a "drab, proletarian place."[55] Marjorie Morningstar, heroine of Herman Wouk's novel, attended Hunter College a decade later, but she still harbored resentment because her parents could not quite afford to send her to a college out of town. Wouk described Hunter College as a "concentration camp of...dreamers...forced by lack of money into the mold of subway grinds." [56] Others students who despaired of finding work lamented their fate as part of a "surplus generation," who would be out in the "cold cruel world, hunting in vain for a job or working for a pittance."[57]

Not all women brooded about an underprivileged, make-do college life with but a dim expectation of better days to come. "Underprivileged!" exclaimed one woman. "It was a privilege. We were grateful to be there...Imagine, it cost only a nickel for the subway each way!" This interviewee explained that her older sisters had to work in sweatshops when they were her age, so she was always "immensely, immensely grateful." A 1934 graduate of Brooklyn College related: "We were the children of peddlers, tailors, first-chance Americans, and everybody pointed to the city colleges and said, 'This is your opportunity, take it.'" Another Brooklyn graduate said she viewed her college years as "a glorious experience, something that was so wonderful that that I could never see the seediness or hear the noise of the trolleys." [58] The majority of interviewees insist they did not feel embittered. They assert that they received fine educations from outstanding faculty members. Many women would agree with a graduate of Brooklyn College who recounted that she was interested in "the intellectual level of the people whom we would be associated with, and the caliber of the staff." [59] Bel Kaufman wrote: "We knew we were poor; we did not know how rich we were." A Hunter College education, she explained, was excellent and the teachers "great; at least some of them were...They were scholars in the days when scholarship was admired, authority was respected. High standards were expected, were demanded of us." Writer Kate Simon, who attended Hunter College during the 1930s, concurred that she received "what might be called a quality education." Even Marjorie Morningstar, who "never liked the school," admitted that she could get a good education at Hunter College where the competition for grades "was keen" and the girls "brighter than average."[60]

Most women appreciated and admired their instructors, and respected the intelligence of their fellow students, but their relations with deans, other administrators, and, occasionally, faculty members were often less than amiable. The prevalent belief that college officials should oversee the deportment and guard the morals of women students, combined with faculty and staff prejudice toward Jewish students to cause much intergenerational friction. Officials rarely concealed their belief that these "raucous and gawky" daughters of immigrants displayed "only a rudiment of good manners."[61] A Maxwell training school graduate noted that many first and second generation Irish women on the faculty and staff tried to impart good manners to students. These Irish women were the daughters or granddaughters of women who had served as domestics in some of the "finest homes," she related, "where they learned the oh-so-proper manners they taught the teachers at Maxwell," who, in turn, "tried to teach us the same. In the spirit of *noblesse oblige*...We were forever invited to their genteel tea parties...We who drank tea from a glass at home, trying to lift our pinkies, like our teachers." She added that she was constantly reminded that "to be a teacher meant one was a lady" and that "we should learn how to be ladies by emulating them...implying that we Jewish women had no idea what being a lady meant and needed their help in this way."

Many administrators and faculty members at American colleges shared the belief that Jewish students lacked refinement. The interwar years saw an ever-increasing number of restrictions against Jewish students, not because of their Jewishness *per se*, but because they represented a "new kind of Jewish student." Henry L. Feingold notes that elite colleges found nothing objectionable about the previous wave of Jewish students, who were cultivated, well-to-do, and acculturated offspring of German-Jews, "hardly distinguishable from the non-Jewish majority."[62] The new Jewish students, Feingold adds, were distinctive, with their unmistakably Eastern European style and manner. They were younger and brighter than most students. Parents encouraged their children to share their vision of education as the path to social mobility, and expected them to succeed academically. Internalizing academic motivation became a necessity for gaining entrance into the city's free colleges with their extremely high admission standards.

Jewish students gave the highest priority to their studies, and their academic performance reflected their determination. They were in school not merely to train as teachers, but to learn. In the classroom they eagerly raised their hands to answer questions and to question answers. These students did not blindly accept their professors' words as ultimate wisdom. This behavior "unknowingly...violated taboos against showy scholarship."[63] Some students, like writer Kate Simon and her friends at Hunter College, undoubtedly derived excitement from attempting to "stump the professors as nastily as we could" to wrap "the Olympians in discomfort."[64] But the former Hunter student who genuinely wanted to learn and asked questions "respectfully and with the utmost respect for the professor" was in the majority. "Some of the real 'fuddy-duddies' who made it clear that our questions were only annoying to them" resented these students. The students were not content to receive "gentlemen's C's," and often protested a grade they considered undeservedly low. Another interviewee recounted the response to her request that a professor explain a grade of B she received for an essay she submitted. The student previously received straight A's for all schoolwork. The professor was "absolutely shocked that anyone would even want to discuss her marking. She told me I had no sense of propriety, that I was a rude and impolite girl, like all the others who pestered her with questions in class."

Jewish students not only posed more questions in class, they were also more critical-minded than other students. Often exposed at home to ideas not within the mainstream of American society and less restrained in their thinking by their family and community, they possessed open-minds and critical attitudes towards ideas and events they encountered in and out of the classroom. Morris R. Cohen, who taught philosophy at City College for many years, observed that his students were "not as prone to accept the authority of textbooks (or any other kind of authority) as are students elsewhere."[65] Historian Gertrude Himmelfarb noted that after graduating from Brooklyn College in the 1930s, she attended Oxford University where students were "more insular and provincial in spirit and intellect" than their counterparts at Brooklyn College. She found the English students more reverential towards authority, "not a failing of which my generation at Brooklyn could be accused." Brooklyn College students were "too suspicious of authority and guidance," she claimed. Nor did they suffer in silence. Writer Norman Rosten, Himmelfarb's fellow student at Brooklyn College, concurred that Brooklyn students "were a student body with a mind."[66] Jewish students displayed little deference for authority and were perceived as nonconformists to the norms of the college community and to the traditions of collegiate culture. The New York state legislature attempted to produce some conformity in 1934 by requiring all students entering New York's municipal colleges to sign a loyalty pledge. In gratitude for the free education the public gave them, the students had to abide by the disciplinary code of their college.[67] But a conspicuous number of participants in the student movement of the Depression decade refused to conform to those rules. Student activism sprang up on campuses throughout the country in response to the myriad problems that confronted American society during the Depression. The daughters of Jewish immigrants were passionately involved in the full spectrum of causes including the peace movement, and the American Student Union, the country's largest student organization. Some Jewish women belonged to Marxist youth groups. But whatever their political ideology, Jewish student activists were branded as radicals by most college officials.[68]

The studiousness, skepticism, noncompliance, or even political radicalism of Jewish students were troublesome, but faculty members and college administrators were most vexed by their perception of Jewish students as uncultured, clamorous, and rude. Considered unpleasantly aggressive and unduly contentious, Jewish students were totally at odds with the accepted notion that college students should be cultivated and refined—and not members of an exotic, alien culture. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, professors devoted many faculty meetings to discussing the crudity of Jewish students and searching for ways to correct this "chief evil."[69]

College administrators and faculty members openly referred to Jewish students as crass and coarse. The presidents of Hunter and Brooklyn colleges did not call their students "guttersnipes," as did City College president Frederick B. Robinson in a celebrated incident during the 1930s. But Hunter's president referred to dissenting women students as minors and condescendingly told them that he "was seventeen once too." [70] Class and ethnic antagonisms often surfaced at Brooklyn and Hunter. A Brooklyn College alumna recalls that after delivering a speech in class, her professor told her she would be given a low grade for excessive gesturing "like some immigrant from the Lower East Side." Another professor reminded Hunter students that they were called, "and properly, 'Hunter girls,'" while Radcliffe, Barnard, and Bryn Mawr taught "women."[71]

At odds with the class and ethnic makeup of the student body, Hunter College officials also acted as moral guardians. Kate Simon said that Hunter still retained "the faint tinge of a semicloistered female academy (or was it nun's school?)" with its deans' looking into the "*moral faiblesse*" of anyone rumored to be leading an "irregular life." Deans, once called "lady superintendents," monitored student conduct and viewed their duties as largely disciplinary. A student who appeared on campus in an "unladylike pose" offended against the proprieties of the day and was summoned before a dean. Kate Simon termed such an appearance "an inquisition." Even after almost 40 years, the very name of Hunter College dean Hannah Egan "touches me with fear: What have I done *now*?" Bel Kaufman wrote in 1970.[72]

The Hunter College staff was not only concerned with the demeanor of its students, it was also inordinately preoccupied with personal appearance. This preoccupation did not exist at the men's city college, or at coeducational Brooklyn College. A former Hunter official commented that the faculty thought students "unattractive and vulgar." He added: "Some of them probably were." Hunter students, he said, were "afflicted with acne...and deplorable hairdos." [73] Bel Kaufman recalled that a dean sternly warned a student who came to school wearing an organdy blouse that "such unseemly attire might inflame men's passions."[74] Similarly, Dean Egan admonished a young woman in the student lounge for wearing "a too-skimpy sweater." Frequent articles in the student newspaper attest to faculty member concern with the image that Hunter women portrayed. An education department faculty member, for example, praised students' "style and chic as a whole," but then lectured them on the "appropriateness of their dress...and neatness and grooming."[75] Staff and faculty even formed a committee that dealt with the personal appearance of students. The committee offered consultations on posture, appropriate clothing, "wise" use of cosmetics, care of skin, hair, hands, and the "ever present question of extra pounds."[76] Students either took such ministrations as a personal affront or reacted with complete indifference.

Collegiate life for Jewish women also had an extracurricular side, and both training-schools and colleges offered a rich variety of clubs, organizations, and social activities. Many students had to hold down jobs and a full course load, even during the relative prosperity of the 1920s. These students could not avail themselves of any extracurricular activities. Responsibilities at home precluded other students from participating. Other students disdained campus activities. An ardent, active member of the Young Communist League scorned the "frivolous doings on campus." She sneered, "With thousands of people unemployed, ill-fed, and homeless, Hunter held their soirées at fancy hotels." Campus events were often beyond the pocketbooks of students who would have liked to participate, as were the sororities that flourished at Hunter. Many interviewees who could not afford to join spoke wistfully of these organizations.

But sufficient numbers of women had the time, wherewithal, and interest to participate in the plethora of extracurricular activities found at the training-schools and colleges. Yearbooks, student publications, and the "School Page" of the *New York Sun* all offer evidence of the wide range of clubs and social events found at these schools throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Each school had math clubs, science clubs, and language clubs, student government, student publications, religious organizations including the Newman Club and the Menorah Society, theater and choral productions, boat rides, and dances. Dances were indeed held at "fancy hotels," as the radical student asserted. Extracurricular activities remained constant during the halcyon years of the twenties, and even during the turmoil of the thirties, when they were interspersed with the ferment of student activism.

Extra-curricular activities—whether college-sanctioned or more radical—were an important component of teacher training. Future teachers gained self-confidence, learned organizational and analytic skills, were trained to question, developed a critical attitude, and responded to social problems. Women students put the lessons learned from their participation in student activities to use in the city's public schools when they joined the teaching staff. Many experiences gained through involvement in the student movement of the thirties, for example, would later be applied to the nascent teachers unions. Still other students participated in campaigns for improved school conditions, new schools, and innovative curricula. Students fought to remove biased textbooks from the city's schools.

Academic and extracurricular participation in the teacher-training schools and the four-year colleges provided the young Jewish women who became public school teachers during the interwar decades with the tools to alter New York City's teaching staff indelibly once they joined its ranks.

These women also laid the groundwork for other Jewish women who later completed teacher training programs in the same colleges. In the decades after World War II, Jewish women became the majority of all teachers in the world's largest—and perhaps most influential—public school system.

NOTES

Sixty-one women who prepared for teaching careers in New York City's teacher-training institutions and in its municipal colleges during the decades of the 1920s and 1930s, and who subsequently taught in the New York City public school system were interviewed for this study. Their testimony is not footnoted, but the names of teachers that previously appeared in printed accounts are used and cited.

1. Stephen Cole, *The Unionization of Teachers: A Case Study of the UFT* (New York: Praeger Press, 1969), 95. Cole derived his figures from the names of newly-appointed teachers as provided by Board of Education, City of New York, Office of the Superintendent of Schools, *Journal of the Board of Education*, Special Collections, Milbank Library, Teachers College, Columbia University, for these years. Cole counted only obviously-Jewish names. But the *Journal* also lists many teachers who changed their names, a fairly common practice during the interwar years. Close scrutiny of the names on more than 1,000 Teacher Personnel Cards at the Board of Education's Bureau of Teachers' Records, Division of Personnel, Brooklyn, New York, that takes into account birth and marriage names and name changes that appear on these cards, indicates that Cole's estimates are somewhat low.

2. During the interwar years, the daughters of Italian-Americans attended high school in increasing numbers. See Miriam Cohen, "Changing Education Strategies Among Immigrant Generations: New York Italians in Comparative Perspective," *Journal of Social History* 15 (Spring, 1982): 443-466. Only 35 women teachers with Italian names were found among the more than 1,000 Teacher Personnel Cards studied. It was not possible to determine how many African American women taught in city schools because the Board of Education did not list the race of its teachers on its records. I found perhaps five women, among over 1,000, who graduated from Tuskegee, Howard, or other African American colleges. Scrutiny of Brooklyn and Hunter College yearbooks indicated very few African American women graduates, and we do not know what they did after graduation. Interviewees attested to the presence of a very small number of African American teachers in schools in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant during the thirties.

3. For a discussion of Jewish residential patterns in New York City during the 1920s and 1930s, see Deborah Dash Moore, *At Home in America: Second Generation New York Jews* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), 19-58; J.B. Maller, "A Study of Jewish Neighborhoods in New York City," *The Jewish Social Service Quarterly* 10 (1934): 271-272.

4. J.X. Cohen, *Towards Fair Play for Jewish Workers: Third Report on Jewish Non-Employment* (New York: American Jewish Congress, 1938), 28, 9, 11-17. Interviewees insist it was common knowledge that Jews could not obtain jobs at any of these companies.

5. *New York Sun*, December 16, 1931, 50; July 11, 1932, 28.

6. From May, 1924 to September, 1929, the Board of Education constructed 130 new school buildings. In 1920, the salary of elementary school teachers ranged between $1,500 and $2,900. High school teachers earned between $1,900 and $3,700. By 1928, elementary teachers earned between $1,600 and $3,500; secondary teachers earned between $2,040 and $4,200. These salaries accorded middle class status to teachers. William O'Shea,

Progress of the Public Schools, May 1, 1924-July 31, 1929 (New York: Board of Education, The City of New York, 1929), 5-7, 12, 17-20, Special Collections, Teachers College.

7. Thomas Kessner, "The Selective Filter of Ethnicity: A Half Century of Immigrant Mobility," in *The Legacy of Jewish Immigration: 1881 and Its Impact*, David Berger, ed. (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Brooklyn College Press, 1983), 178-179.

8. Nettie Pauline McGill, "Some Characteristics of Jewish Youth in New York," *The Jewish Social Service Quarterly* 24 (December, 1937): 257.

9. *New York Teacher* 5 (December, 1939): 21.

10. David Tyack, Robert Lowe, and Elisabeth Hansot, *Public Schools in Hard Times: The Great Depression and Recent Years* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), 129-131; Thomas Brooks, *Towards Dignity: A Brief History of the UFT* (New York: AFT, Local 1, AFL-CIO, 1967), 56-57.

11. *New York Sun*, May 19, 1932, 38.

12. Ibid. June 13, 1932, 34.

13. Ibid. October 3, 1932, 29.

14. *Hunter College Bulletin*, October 31, 1933, 4, Hunter College Archives, Wexler Library, Hunter College; *The Broeklundian, 1933,* 237, Brooklyn College Archives, Brooklyn College Library, Brooklyn College.

15. Personal interviews and polls that the colleges conducted periodically during the 1930s attest to the overwhelming popularity of teaching as the career goal of their students. See Murray M. Horowitz, *Brooklyn College: The First Half-Century*, (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Brooklyn College Press, 1982), 9; *Brooklyn College Vanguard*, November 12, 1937, 5, Brooklyn College Archives; *New York Times*, January 3, 1933, 18; March 3, 1935, II, 5; *Wisterian, 1931*, 28; *Hunter College Bulletin*, June 22, 1931, 5; October 31, 1933, 4; February 20, 1934, 1; October 5, 1936, 1, Hunter College Archives.

16. For discussions of the discriminatory admission policies at women's colleges that kept Jewish enrollment low, see Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their 19th-Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), 158-159; Lynn D. Gordon, "Annie Nathan Meyer and Barnard College: Mission and Identity in Women's Higher Education, 1889-1950." *History of Education Quarterly* 26 (Winter, 1986): 513-517; Barbara Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985), 143-144; Louise Blecher Rose, "The Secret Life of Sarah Lawrence," *Commentary* (May, 1983), 52-56; Marcia Graham Synnott, "Anti-Semitism and American Universities: Did Quotas Follow the Jews?" in *Anti-Semitism in American History*, David A. Gerber, ed. (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 249-250; Stanley Feldstein, *This Land That I Show You: Three Centuries of Jewish Life in America* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1978), 288-292.

17. *Columbia University Bulletin of Information, Barnard College Announcement, 1935-1936*, 32, 34, 118, Barnard College Archives, Wollman Library, Barnard College, Columbia University. Jewish women usually attended Teachers College only on a graduate basis, especially during its summer sessions, and only after having obtained teaching jobs. During the 1930s, many women teachers took extension courses at Teachers College as part of their required in-service training.

18. Lee J. Levinger, *The Jewish Student in America* (Cincinnati, Ohio: B'nai Brith, 1937), 42.

19. Queens College did not graduate its first class until 1941 and is therefore beyond the time period of this study. The borough of Queens had a relatively low Jewish population, especially in contrast to Manhattan, the Bronx, and Brooklyn during the interwar years and the majority of its students were not Jewish. None of the 61 women interviewed for this study attended Queens College.

20. Founded in 1885 as The Brooklyn Training School, its name was changed in 1920 to The Maxwell Training School for Teachers in honor of William Maxwell, Superintendent of Schools of the City of New York, 1898-1918. Board of Education, City of New York, Office of the Superintendent of Schools, *Journal of the New York City Board of Education, 1920*, 1060, Special Collections, Teachers College.

21. Board of Education, City of New York, Office of the Superintendent of Schools, *Annual Report of the City Superintendent of Schools, New York City, 1931*, 803, Special Collections, Teachers College.

22. Considerable numbers of men entered the three teacher-training institutions in the early years of the Great Depression. In 1930, over eight percent of the students in the three schools were male and by February, 1933, male enrollment reached an all-time high of over 16 percent. Arthur Mallon, "The Development of the Municipal Teacher Training Colleges in New York City" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1935), 201.

23. M'Ledge Moffett, *The Social Background and Activities of Teachers College Students* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1929), 20-21; Verne McGuffey, "Some Elements in the Cultural Background of Students in One of the New York City Training Schools for Teachers," *Educational Administration and Supervision* 14 (April, 1928): 280.

24. Moffett, *The Social Background and Activities of Teachers College Students*, 33; Levinger, *The Jewish Student in America*, 44.

25. It is difficult to estimate the exact number of Jewish students in any of New York City's colleges because the colleges did not maintain these statistics. These figures are probably too low because they include enrollment at private, as well as public institutions, and fail to include enrollment in the evening sessions, which tended to have a higher proportion of Jewish students than did the day session. Levinger, *The Jewish Student in America*, 8, 42; Stephen Steinberg, *The Academic Melting Pot: Catholics and Jews in American Higher Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974), 9; Thomas Evans Coulton, *Struggle and Achievement at Brooklyn College, 1930-1955* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955), 6, 8.

26. McGill, "Some Characteristics of Jewish Youth," 257; Mabel Newcomer, *A Century of Higher Education for American Women*, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959), 46.

27. A 1935 survey of New York City's Jewish youth found that 83 percent of those 16 to 24 years of age reported parents born in Eastern Europe, and another eight percent had one foreign-born parent. More than one-half of their parents were born in Russia. McGill, "Some Characteristics of Jewish Youth," 252.

28. William L. Ettinger, "America Calls: Will *You* Answer the Call?" (New York: Board of Education of The City of New York: c. 1918-1924), unpaged, presented to the author by a 1925 graduate of The Maxwell Training School for Teachers.

29. Ibid.

30. Board of Education, *Annual Report of the City Superintendent, 1931*, 803, Special Collections, Teachers College. See also Willard S. Elsbree, *The American Teacher: Evolution of a Profession in a Democracy* (New York: American Book, 1939), 324.

31. Mallon, "The Development of the Municipal Teacher Training Colleges," 124.

32. Teachers Record Department File Number 94464, Bureau of Teachers' Records, The Board of Education.

33. Board of Education, *Annual Report, 1931*, 803, Special Collections, Teachers College.

34. Mallon, "The Development of the Municipal Teacher Training Colleges," 162-164.

35. Ibid., 162-164.

36. Ibid., 127, 164.

37. In 1920, there were 46 teachers colleges and 137 state normal schools in the United States. By 1928, there were 137 teachers colleges and 69 normal schools; by 1933—146 teachers colleges and only 50 state normal schools. City normal schools decreased from 33 in 1920 to 16 in 1933. In 1933, nearly one-third of all elementary teachers were university or college graduates. Elsbree, *The American Teacher*, 324-325; U.S., Office of Education, *National Survey of the Education of Teachers, Summary and Interpretation*, by E.S. Evenden, Bulletin No. 10 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1935), 37.

38. Mallon, "The Development of the Municipal Teacher Training Colleges," 165-166.

39. *New York Sun*, June 17, 1932, 8.

40. *School and Society* 37 (January 21, 1933): 87.

41. Samuel White Patterson, *Hunter College: Eighty-Five Years of Service* (New York: Lantern Press, 1955), 3, 30, 113; Elizabeth Vera Loeb Stern, "A History of Hunter's Splendid Century," *Hunter Alumni Quarterly* (Winter, 1970): 16.

42. New York State Department of Education, *Report of A Study of New York City Schools, Part I: The Administration-Supervisory Organization* by Frank Pierrepont Graves. (Albany, N.Y.: The University of the State of New York Press, 1933), 38, Special Collections, Teacher College. College degrees were mandatory for teachers in the secondary schools in New York City when, as late as 1930, only 77 percent of the nation's high school teachers were college graduates. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Education of the American Population: A 1960 Census Monograph* by John K. Folger and Charles B. Nam (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967), 84.

43. George N. Shuster, *The Ground I Walked On: Reflections of a College President* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1961), 107.

44. Teachers Record Department File Number 126526, Bureau of Teachers' Records, Board of Education. This teacher was a Brooklyn College graduate, Class of 1935.

45. Bel Kaufman, *Up the Down Staircase* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice- Hall, Inc., 1964); Kaufman, "*Mihi Cura Futuri*," *The Hunter Magazine* 3 (April, 1984): 7.

46. Stern, "A History of Hunter's Splendid Century," 14, 18.

47. *The Wisterian, 1929*, 8. Hunter College Archives.

48. Helen Hochfelder Taffel, "Reminiscences of the Depression Years," *Hunter Alumni Quarterly* (Spring, 1970): 13.

49. Horowitz, *Brooklyn College*, 4, 7, 43.

50. *New York Times*, October 2, 1938, II, 2.

51. *New York Times*, October 6, 1935, II, 9; *Brooklyn College Vanguard*, May 15, 1936, 1, Brooklyn College Archives; Herbst, *Reminiscences of the Depression Years*, 13.

52. Kaufman, "*Mihi Cura Futuri*," 7; *The Wisterian, 1937*, unpaged. Hunter College Archives.

53. *Brooklyn College Handbook*, 1937-38, 38, Brooklyn College Archives; Horowitz, *Brooklyn College*, 13; Shuster, *The Ground I Walked On*, 53.

54. Quoted by Hal Draper, "The Student Movement of the Thirties," in *As We Saw the Thirties: Essays on Social and Political Movements of a Decade*, Rita James Simon, ed. (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1967), 156.

55. Shuster, *The Ground I Walked On*, 55.

56. Herman Wouk, *Marjorie Morningstar* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1955), 56.

57. Brooklyn College, Graduate Survey Group, Bureau of Economic Research, *The Brooklyn College Graduate (1932-1939)*, 2, Brooklyn College Archives.

58. Horowitz, *Brooklyn College*, 7, 9.

59. Ibid.

60. Kaufman, "*Mihi Cura Futuri*," 6; Kate Simon, *A Wider World: Portraits in an Adolescence* (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1986), 11; Wouk, *Marjorie Morningstar*, 56.

61. Shuster, *The Ground I Walked On*, 104.

62. Henry L. Feingold, "Investing in Themselves: The Harvard Case and the Origins of the Third American-Jewish Commercial Elite," *American Jewish History* 77 (June, 1988): 541.

63. Ibid., 545. See Sherry Gorelick, *City College and the Jewish Poor: Education in New York, 1880-1924* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1981), 179.

64. Simon, *A Wider World*, 170.

65. Morris Raphael Cohen, *A Dreamer's Journey* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1949), 184-185.

66. Gertrude Himmelfarb, "Reflections of a Provincial," *Nocturne* IX, Book I (March, 1957): 8; Norman Rosten, "A Reminiscence With Some Nostalgia," *Nocturne* IX, Book I. (March, 1957): 13. Brooklyn College Archives.

67. *City College Bulletin*, January 1, 1935, 13. City College of New York Archives, City College Library, City College of New York.

68. For accounts of student activism at New York City's municipal colleges during the 1930s, see Joseph P. Lash, *The Campus Strikes Against War* (New York: Student League for Industrial Democracy, 1935); James A. Wechsler, *Revolt on the Campus* (New York: Covici-Friede, 1935); Ralph S. Brax, "When Students First Organized Against War: Student Protest During the 1930s," *New York Historical Society Quarterly* 63 (July, 1979): 228-255, and Eileen Eagan, *Class, Culture, and the Classroom: The Student Peace Movement of the 1930s* (Philadelphia, Penn.: Temple University Press, 1981).

69. Cohen, *A Dreamer's Journey*, 5. That Jewish students failed to meet the image of the conventional American student is underscored by the report of the Strayer commission of the New York state legislature. This report described the male students at City College, the majority of whom were Jewish, but it is equally applicable to the Jewish women who attended the city's other municipal colleges during the 1930s. The report identified the "social handicaps" of students. They lacked social skills, could not get along with people, could engage in conversation only in an argumentative fashion, and were frustrated by financial difficulties and by their immaturity. The report added that their high scholastic achievement prior to college, along with "the constant pressure placed on them by their parents to succeed scholastically," resulted in "an over-emphasis on intellectual values to the detriment of other vital areas of personal development." Eileen Eagan summed up the Strayer report in her study of college students of the 1930s: "In short, they were poor, smart, and obstreperous." *Report of the New York City Subcommittee of Rapp-Coudert Committee of the New York State Legislature*, 1944, cited in Eagan, *Class, Culture, and the Classroom*, 101-102.

70. President Robinson called the City College students "guttersnipes" at an anti-fascist demonstration. A large contingent of CCNY students later faced Robinson wearing buttons that proclaimed themselves "gutter-snipes." See Wechsler, *Revolt on the Campus*, 395-396; *Hunter College Bulletin*, October 29, 1934, 2, Hunter College Archives.

71. Simon, *A Wider World*, 116.

72. Ibid., 112; Kaufman. *"Mihi Cura Futuri,"* 7. Dean Hannah M. Egan chaired Hunter College's Conduct Committee during the thirties.

73. Shuster, *The Ground I Walked On*, 55, 104.

74. Kaufman, *"Mihi Cura Futuri,"* 7.

75. *Hunter College Bulletin*, February 13, 1934, 4, Hunter College Archives.

76. Ibid., March 13, 1934, 1.

Politics, Science, and Education in New Mexico: The Racial-Attitudes Survey of 1933

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ON APRIL 26, 1933, THE ALBUQUERQUE *TRIBUNE* alerted New Mexicans to a grave threat to the harmony that prevailed between Anglo and Spanish-speaking citizens.[1] Governor Arthur Seligman discovered a plan to distribute a racial attitude questionnaire to Anglo high school students across the state. Richard M. Page, a University of New Mexico psychology professor, masterminded the scheme. Page intended to determine what Anglo students thought of Spanish-speaking people as a class. "It can't do any good that I can see," declared Seligman, "and may do a lot of harm."[2]

The next morning the Albuquerque *Journal* printed the questionnaire on its front page. The questionnaire contained a list of statements that ranged from very favorable to highly derogatory. The instructions directed the respondent to agree or disagree with each statement. The list included:

> 1. I have only the highest regard for all Spanish-speaking people of my acquaintance.
> 2. It is glaringly obvious that the Spanish-speaking people are inferior....
> 7. No matter how much you educate Spanish-speaking people, they are nothing but greasers....
> 14. Spanish-speaking people excel all others in kindliness and generosity.[3]

Governor Seligman expressed outrage at this apparent affront to Spanish-American integrity. He demanded that the president of the Board of Regents conduct an investigation and dismiss any UNM faculty member who had participated in the survey.[4]

The April 27 evening paper revealed that George I. Sánchez, chief of the Division of Information and Statistics in the New Mexico State Department of Education, claimed responsibility for distributing the questionnaires. Sánchez, a strong supporter of equal educational opportunity in New Mexico, defended his involvement. "It is in line with the special responsibility of my office in this state, the study of Spanish-speaking people and their education," he asserted, "and it is ridiculous to say that any person should have a greater interest in protecting their rights and feelings than I."[5]

Other Spanish-Americans vehemently protested the survey. Gilberto Espinosa, a prominent Albuquerque attorney and a director of the San José Training School, demanded that the governor "take positive and proper action toward putting an end to such foolishness." The people of New Mexico were one people, Espinosa added, and it was necessary to "stop attempting to perpetuate class differences...So long as ignorance exists, racial misunderstanding and prejudice will continue."[6]

On Thursday, April 27, several hundred people assembled in Old Town, the Hispanic neighborhood of Albuquerque. Captain A.A. Sena, the organizer of the meeting, was quoted as saying that the university ought to be shut down and that "Page ought to be lynched." Many speakers lambasted the university. Students testified to the discrimination and lack of respect they received on campus. George Sánchez did not escape the wrath of this impassioned gathering. Mrs. E. A. Perrault, reported the Albuquerque *Journal*, said that Sánchez was well-meaning and did his work well. But, added the former New Mexico secretary of state and state director of employment for the Department of Labor, he needed someone "to tell him what to do sometimes." Presumably, Mrs. Perrault had occasion to learn something of Sánchez's work for the state.[7]

So began a curious episode in the history of New Mexican higher education. The incident revolved around a research technique then in vogue in progressive social science circles. Richard Page's efforts to apply social science to the problem of racism should have remained an academic exercise, but instead exploded into controversy. That political figures would question the professional conduct of several educators became nearly inevitable, given the particular sensitivity of the race issue in New Mexican education and politics.

Through the 1930s, Spanish-Americans—49 percent of the state's non-Indian population—were influential participants in New Mexican politics. Their concentration in counties along the Rio Grande northward from Albuquerque, and their tendency to unite when their ethnic interests and pride were attacked, made Spanish-Americans a formidable political force. Anglo and Hispanic politicians went to great lengths to prevent "race issues" from arising, for Spanish-American voters readily crossed political boundaries to respond to these issues.[8] In New Mexico, one political observer pointed out, "racial antagonism is the sword of Damocles ever hanging by a horse hair over the head of the politician."[9]

Governor Arthur Seligman, a Santa Fe Democrat, understood the peculiarities of New Mexican politics. The Republican Party had enjoyed nearly complete control of territorial politics, but factionalism within the G.O.P. allowed the Democrats to establish a tenuous balance of power from the time of statehood (1912) to 1930. Bronson Cutting was often the source of this factionalism. Cutting, the wealthy publisher of the Sante Fe *New Mexican,* a patron of Spanish-American interests, and a Progressive Republican, supported Democrats whenever he felt that conservative party leaders threatened the interests—especially voting rights or patronage—of his Hispanic following. In 1930, Cutting, then U.S. Senator, asked his Spanish-American constituents to vote for the Democratic candidate for governor, Arthur Seligman.[10]

Seligman immediately implemented a promised program of government austerity and budget-cutting. He thereby took on the University of New Mexico. The governor ordered an audit of all spending actions, and targeted the ambitious construction program of President James F. Zimmerman. He demanded that the Board of Regents account strictly for all expenditures, and made repeated requests of board president Henry G. Coors, Jr. for detailed financial reports.[11] Hispanic voters praised Seligman's aggressiveness, for many Spanish American students and state legislators believed that the university discriminated against students of Hispanic heritage.[12]

Seligman's inclusion of the public schools in his economy program brought him into conflict with George Sánchez. The governor and Sánchez sparred on several school-related issues in the year before the racial survey controversy. Seligman supported the so-called taxpayers' associations, groups of citizens who wanted to place ceilings on tax rates, reduce school budgets, and impose state control on educational spending. Sánchez opposed these associations, and denounced the governor for vetoing a school equalization bill that he had helped to write. This legislation would have required distribution of state school funds by classroom units, taking into consideration each county's average daily attendance figures.[13]

The governor's efforts to curtail university funding gained him the support of Hispanic citizens, but his veto of the public school equalization bill had the opposite effect. The equalization measure would have aided those rural counties where most Spanish-Americans lived. Seligman recognized an opportunity to curry favor with Spanish-American voters by reacting swiftly to Richard Page's racial survey. For weeks, newspapers headlined the governor's actions: Seligman's exposure of the survey, his swift action to prevent its mailing, his ultimatum to the university, and appointment of an investigative committee.[14]

Seligman wasted no time in attacking the persons responsible for the racial survey. The day after the public revelation of the survey, the governor wrote to Regent Henry Coors, asking for an investigation into Page's activities and demanding Page's resignation.[15] The General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation funded Sánchez's position, so Seligman wrote to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., asking that the G.E.B. replace Sánchez "with some one more acceptable to our people," who will not "unwittingly plant the seeds of race hatred in the minds of our children." Added Seligman, "this propaganda [racial survey] will bring about incalculable injury to the peaceful, harmonious and friendly relations now existing in New Mexico between the Anglo-American and Spanish American elements of our population..."[16] The governor also asked Cutting to discuss the status of Sánchez with Rockefeller.[17]

David H. Stevens, a staff member of the General Education Board replied to Governor Seligman, explaining that Sánchez's position was funded by the Board rather than Mr. Rockefeller himself or the Rockefeller Foundation. The Board's policy was to provide funds at the request of states for worthwhile educational undertakings. The Division of Information and Statistics which Sánchez headed was one such project, initiated by the New Mexico State Department of Education and now under its jurisdiction. "The General Education Board disclaims any responsibility whatever for the activities of Mr. Sánchez," Stevens stated. "It has not been the policy of the Board to follow its appropriations with any attempt to share in the responsibility of administering educational interests either of states or of institutions."[18] Clearly, if Seligman was to succeed in ousting Sánchez, he would have to take that responsibility himself.

But Seligman soon discovered that a powerful political ally supported Sánchez. Cutting, who supplemented the GEB appropriation to Sánchez's division with personal funds, urged restraint in the Governor's campaign to fire Sánchez. "Of course I agree that the publication of the questionnaire was a great mistake in judgment," wrote Cutting.

> On the other hand, I have been familiar with Mr. Sánchez's work in the State, and think that, on the whole, it has been of great value. I should be inclined to withhold judgment until I have more information as to the responsibility for the questionnaire. I certainly cannot believe that he would intentionally take part in any propaganda of prejudice.[19]

Cutting, in protecting Sánchez, may have unwittingly made Richard Page the scapegoat for the whole affair.

The governor backed down on Sánchez, and told Cutting that he had "every confidence in Mr. Sánchez and believe he is a very qualified and intelligent young man." But the questionnaire remained "reprehensible, uncalled for and unjust," and Seligman believed that those responsible for it should be "severely reprimanded for their lack of knowledge of conditions and their desire to stir up a race issue." He was concerned about the reaction of his Spanish-American constituency: "No need to tell you that our native friends are very bitter and resentful."[20]

The racial survey issue thus kept Arthur Seligman's name in the headlines, and allowed him to renew his attack on the university and its leaders. It also gained him points as a defender of Hispanic pride and culture. Anglos and Hispanics wrote many letters that praised his handling of the affair.

Richard M. Page, the developer of the racial attitudes survey, had little understanding of New Mexican politics or interracial relations. He naively believed that good would come from application of this "objective" scientific tool to a real social problem. George I. Sánchez, who helped him distribute the survey, shared Page's belief in the potential contributions of scientific techniques to reform. Sánchez knew from first-hand experience the result of injecting "race issues" into New Mexican politics, but he was not adverse to controversy if it would stimulate positive change.

Opponents ignored the scientific justification for the racial attitudes survey. The *Tribune* editorialized: "The so-called research into the question of race prejudice, undertaken by a psychology professor at the university, strikes us as a piece of gross stupidity." The editors claimed to support academic freedom and research, but they added that this project "violates that highly unscientific quality of common sense." The offensive statements on the survey would intensify prejudice and disturb the "cordial" relations between the two peoples. "The project is not only unscientific, inept and fruitless," the *Tribune* declared, "but is in extremely bad taste."[21]

The newspapers editors, the governor, and some Spanish-American leaders displayed anti-intellectualism in their reception of the racial survey. But, their response also underscored the sensitivity of New Mexicans when educational reforms involved the race issue. "Scientific," efficiency-minded, progressive innovations—such as standardization of school grades or school district consolidation—met no unusual opposition in New Mexico. The use of intelligence testing, however, which directly involved questions of racial differences, raised serious criticisms. George Sánchez had established his professional reputation by publishing studies that used meticulous scientific methods to demonstrate the deficiencies of intelligence testing. State Department of Education officials relied on his research when they instructed New Mexican teachers to use intelligence test results warily and to consider environmental factors when judging schoolchildren.[22]

George I. Sánchez and Richard M. Page were consummate progressives who relied upon science as the ultimate authority on educational improvement.[23] Progressive educators turned to psychology and sociology for tools to make education an exact, objective science that removed subjectivity and emotion from the accumulation of factual information. The Page incident suggests the dangers of applying scientific methods to issues of race. Perhaps social scientists in research universities did not need to concern themselves with public opinion. But public school educators who borrowed ideas or methods from these social scientists *had* to contend with what people thought. The Page incident reveals that moving a limited research technique from a sheltered academic environment to the public schools subjects it to the political maneuvering and emotionalism that progressives hoped to avoid.

Richard M. Page was 31 years old when he accepted a position in 1929 as professor of psychology at the University of New Mexico. Raised in Denver, Colorado, he earned his bachelor's degree from the University of Michigan in 1921. After a few years of advertising and publicity work in California, he taught psychology at the University of Texas and Northwestern University. He began graduate work at the University of Chicago in 1926, but he received his master's degree from Northwestern in 1932 while on leave from UNM.[24]

The Chicago psychology department most directly influenced Page's activities in New Mexico. There he came into contact with students of L. L. Thurstone, a professor of social psychology who pioneered in the field of attitude surveys. These students enlisted Page in some scientific survey work. Page eagerly read Thurstone's first book on surveys upon its publication in 1929, his first year at New Mexico. He concluded that the Thurstone method could help to improve relations between Anglo and Spanish-speaking students at UNM.[25]

Page used the Thurstone method to construct his own survey. Students in his advanced social psychology class (1932) gathered several hundred statements that Anglos made about Spanish-Americans in everyday situations. The statements came from newspapers or from conversations overheard on street corners, in pool halls, and in other public places, and ranged from radically favorable to radically antagonistic. The students then sorted the statements to achieve an equal number of extremely favorable and unfavorable, moderately favorable and unfavorable, and neutral statements. The next step—"the most important one scientifically," noted Page—was "to determine the exact degree of favor or antagonism expressed by each statement." All the statements were printed on tiny slips of paper, and given to "at least two hundred judges." The judges sorted the statements into 11 piles that represented one extreme to the other. Only those statements "upon which there is good agreement among all the judges" were retained for the actual survey.[26]

The resulting attitude scale contained about 20 statements and represented each of the 11 piles. Surveyors could then ask respondents to check the statements with which they agreed. Each statement had a numerical value, so the surveyor could measure the attitude of the respondent by finding the middle value of all the scale values of statements checked.[27]

Page formulated a "Five-Year Plan" after completing the field investigation and statement standardization. He intended to ascertain the degree and distribution of prejudice between the Anglo and Spanish-speaking groups in New Mexico within five years. No one really knew how much prejudice existed in the state, Page argued, and the Thurstone method offered a "legitimate and dependable tool for determining amount and degree of prejudice between two groups." Page claimed that facts—not opinions—would combat prejudice. "I would feel traitorous to the state," he declared, "if I were not to put my technical knowledge of the newer attitude measuring methods to account in an effort to understand the local problem as a first step toward doing something in a constructive way."[28]

Page would be responsible for studies that related to the attitudes of English-speaking people toward Hispanics. Dr. F. M. Kercheville, professor of Spanish at UNM, would conduct similar studies of the attitudes of Spanish-speaking people toward Anglos. The completed studies, Page predicted, would put researchers "in a position to give a definite objective answer to many of the questions that needed to be settled before commencing extensive programs for the reduction of antipathies or prejudice."[29]

Page had planned to distribute the survey only to mature adults. He discussed his plans with President Zimmerman, who cautioned him not to distribute the survey before consulting with leading Spanish-American citizens, including George I. Sánchez.[30] Page did confer with Sánchez, who was enthusiastic about the study and offered to distribute the scale to high schools around the state. Page, taken aback, decided that Sánchez understood the local situation, and he went along with Sánchez's idea.[31]

Page knew that conducting the survey with high school students was riskier than working with more mature respondents. Dr. Kercheville and Dr. B. F. Haught, head of the UNM psychology department, opposed the new plan. But Page believed that "Mr. Sánchez was in a position to pass sound judgment upon the matter."[32] He prepared the survey blanks and instructions for Anglo high school students, and Sánchez's office prepared to send the materials to every high school in the state. But the governor's office got wind of the plan and intervened before the survey was distributed.[33]

The UNM Board of Regents acquiesced entirely to the governor's position. Seligman and the Regents had maintained an antagonistic relationship throughout the governor's campaign to reduce university spending.[34] But no Regent came forward to defend Page in the name of academic freedom. Intense public indignation—or knowledge that Seligman would soon consider their reappointments—may have intimidated the Regents.[35] Or, the Regents may have sincerely considered the racial attitude survey inappropriate and inherently dangerous. In any case, the Regents kept their personal positions to themselves, and played only a symbolic role as sponsor of the investigative committee.

At Governor Seligman's insistence, President Zimmerman telephoned each Regent on April 28 to gain unanimous approval for the membership of a five-man committee. Three appointees were Hispanic community leaders and Progressive Republicans. Gilberto Espinosa was an influential Albuquerque attorney, who chaired the committee, and Maurice Miera of Magdalena, New Mexico, was state chairman of the Progressive Republicans. Major Herman Baca, a Cutting supporter from Santa Fe, declined membership and was replaced by Camillo Padilla, a Santa Fe journalist and a Progressive Republican. Dr. Loyd S. Tireman, a professor of education at UNM and founder of the San José Training School, and Vernon O. Tolle, Executive Secretary of the New Mexico Education Association rounded out the committee.[36]

The Spanish-American committee members had already concluded that the surveyors should be punished or removed from university service. The Board of Regents approved their participation, and also condemned the survey in advance of the committee's findings. The Regents resolved that "the recent so-called 'attitude' information blank, which has aroused racial ill feeling, did not have the approval of the Regents," and that "we greatly deplore the issuance of this form regardless of the source of responsibility." The university desired "to build goodwill and intelligent cooperation" among New Mexicans, and the Regents therefore invited "the cooperation and constructive criticism of interested New Mexico citizens in further planning for the reducing and eliminating of racial ill feeling."[37] The Regents thus rejected in advance Page's argument that the survey might contribute to the reduction of racial ill feeling, and instead rubber stamped the governor's position.

The investigative committee called 20 witnesses in three days of hearings. The witness list included Page, Sánchez, Zimmerman, Kercheville, Haught, Arturo Campa of UNM; and some UNM students.[38] Attention centered upon Richard Page's testimony. Page submitted a written brief that defended the racial survey on scientific grounds. Newspaper accounts, he explained, wrongly labelled the racial-attitudes study a "questionnaire," which Page considered an unreliable instrument. Page noted that he based his survey on the new Thurstone method with which, "some psychologists believe that it is now possible to measure attitudes in the same sense that one measures the dimensions of a room with a yard stick."[39]

Page then described the development of a Thurstone attitude scale. "Since the method is very new," he admitted, "it is still too early to say that it is an accepted and widely recognized method." Dr. B. F. Haught, Page's chairman, "expressed doubt as to the feasibility of getting people to express their attitudes honestly and with insight on any sort of questionnaire or scale."

But, professional journals published experimental studies that demonstrated the validity of the method. "Thurstone himself," Page added, "of course, feels that his method is superior to all others," and published articles that supported his contention.

The scholarly literature on the use of attitude measurements, claimed Page, pointed "strongly in the direction of the scientific prestige of the method."[40] "Exhibit A" was *The Measurement of Attitude*, by L. L. Thurstone. Thurstone claimed to be "extending the pioneer work of [James McKeen] Cattell, who was the first to apply psychophysical methods to the measurement of social values." The great practical potential of attitude surveys, Thurstone suggested, included helping to determine "which form of appeal is most effective for making people change their minds about a disputed issue such as pacifism, prohibition, municipal ownership, birth control, feminism...."[41]

The articles and books that Page offered in his defense contained expressions of doubt that the confident Page failed to note in his testimony. D. D. Droba's 1932 review of the literature on the measurement of attitudes—Page's "Exhibit D"—appeared to favor the Thurstone method. But Droba called the procedure "laborious and in most cases impracticable."[42] Thurstone himself warned that attitude scales should only be used "in those situations in which one may reasonably expect people to tell the truth about their convictions or opinions." The researcher also had to approach the subject "with the full realization that the subject may be consciously hiding his true attitude or that the social pressure of the situation has made him really believe what he expresses."[43]

Page provided samples of other racial attitudes surveys, and asked the committee to observe that all of the scales contained highly unfavorable statements. It would be "impossible to detect the extremely prejudiced person with this type of scale," Page noted, "unless he were given an opportunity to check a few rankly prejudiced statements." Including these items did not imply that the author of the scale believed them, Page explained.[44]

Committee chair Gilberto Espinosa was not impressed with Page's testimony. "[S]o far as I am concerned," Espinosa declared, "I don't particularly care to go into an argument on the value of such a survey, I understand that similar surveys are made and whether or not it is of value is not a question we are deciding here."[45] Espinosa was disturbed to discover that one of the sample surveys used by Page as a model for his students was designed to measure attitudes toward Negroes. "Didn't you have any apprehension that using of an attitude towards a negro scale might result in some objection on the part of Spanish speaking people?" he asked the psychologist. Page saw no reason that he should have been concerned in the use of the Negro attitude scale as a model.[46]

Espinosa then demanded to know why Page proceeded with the race survey after initial testing showed that prejudice existed. The attorney was sincerely puzzled by the professor's inability to realize that New Mexicans would find the racial-attitudes study offensive. "Having already known the deplorable situation of prejudice that existed...," he queried Page, "for God's sake why did you want to stir the matter up more, [w]hat reason did you feel you had to investigate any further, wasn't this sufficient proof?"[47]

Miera then asked Page about his knowledge of New Mexican history and culture. Page said he knew nothing of New Mexico or Spanish-speaking people before coming to UNM, and had not learned much since. His interest in New Mexican arts and crafts, though, demonstrated his willingness to learn about New Mexican culture. He and his wife proved their concern for the native people by giving their Spanish-speaking gardener a loan. Page had not learned Spanish because he was still working toward a doctorate and had to learn German first.[48] Miera then asked Page: "Have you any prejudice, race prejudice, yourself?" Page, ever the social scientist, answered: "My own scale registers favorably to the Spanish speaking people."[49]

George Sánchez followed Page to the witness stand. This extremely gifted young man, then 26, grew up in New Mexico, worked his way through UNM, and studied for a doctorate at Berkeley while holding the directorship of the Division of Information and Statistics.[50] Sánchez explained his involvement with the attitude survey: "Since the inception of my division under the State Board of Education it has been our purpose to undertake different studies in the interest of the Spanish speaking children of the state." He published numerous research articles on this topic, and tried to cooperate on relevant studies conducted at the university.[51]

Sánchez believed the Thurstone method was a valuable scientific tool and welcomed the opportunity to help Page. Espinosa was incredulous that Sánchez had not taken offense to some statements in the survey:

> Q. Did you see anything in that scale that was offensive to you as a native New Mexican?
> A. Taken from the context and study of the scale I would say yes; in the scale itself I usually take any objective test or standard from a purely impersonal standpoint.
> Q. In other words, scientifically speaking, you harbored no resentment?
> A. I would take no offense from a statement in a scientific scale or test, whereas the same statement in another context would cause me to resent it.
> Q. Did you consider the fact that this statement was going to be sent out to a group of high school students who did not have the technical knowledge or the technical background that you had?

> A. Well, I am sorry to say that I didn't consider that to the extent that I might have, I wish to say right now that I believe that that was a serious mistake on my part.[52]

Espinosa suggested that Sánchez lost his common sense in this instance. He chastised the young man for being "so imbued with your scientific knowledge that you can't look upon the practical side of things and realize the effect it might have upon the average person of your race."[53]

Loyd Tireman attempted to put Sánchez in a better light by asking about his background and education. Tireman suggested that Sánchez—who came from a lower class background (his father was an itinerant miner)—might be expected to share the prejudices of that class. Tireman attributed the absence of prejudice in Sánchez to his extraordinary education. If prejudiced individuals had received a similar education, Tireman suggested, ill feelings might be eradicated. "Yes," Sánchez agreed, "and not only that, I believe that any beneficial results that we may wish to attain in society may be done through education."[54]

The committee had no authority to pass judgment on Sánchez, who as an employee of the State Department of Education did not fall under the Regents's jurisdiction. But the committee's final report chastised Sánchez for failing "to exercise the knowledge he should have of his own people." The committee members understood that Sánchez was hired to facilitate worthy research projects, and they acknowledged his sincere interest in New Mexico's Spanish-speaking population. But the members could not overlook his poor prediction of the survey's emotional effect:

> How he failed to sense the feelings of his people is difficult to understand. We condemn his mistake as one of judgment but feel that whatever censure is directed against him, should be tempered by a consideration of his past record and his promise for future service.[55]

George Sánchez had a bright future before him, and the Page incident may have taught him lessons that enhanced his contribution to his people. But he made his greatest contributions elsewhere, for his relations with New Mexican political leaders worsened after the controversy. Sánchez's crusade for more equitable distribution of school funds resulted in a new Equalization Law in 1935. But his successful campaign again brought him into conflict with entrenched political and educational leaders, especially when he criticized the mismanagement of the State Department of Education. Sánchez left his post in New Mexico when the legislature refused to continue to fund his position. He spent several years in Mexico and Venezuela, and then returned to UNM from 1938 to 1940. In 1940 he went to the University of Texas where he became an internationally-respected authority on the education of Spanish-speaking children.[56]

The committee charged Richard Page with full responsibility for the racial-attitude survey. The committee considered Page's scientific justification. "We feel he had none but sincere motives in initiating this work," the report read. "To his mind at least, the work was based upon scientific principles." The committee report did not condemn scientific research in itself, nor did it question the value of surveys, "properly used." But the report did "insist that the dignity of those citizens of New Mexico of Spanish ancestry, is above their being made the subject of a Social Survey, whatever its purpose."[57]

Richard Page raised the committee's ire not by his science, but by his naive assumption that his scientific methods were above question. Page admitted that he was a "newcomer" to New Mexico. The committee determined that he was

> lamentably ignorant of the history of New Mexico, its people, their traits and characteristics. He completely lacked a true understanding of the social problem with which he was dealing. And, regardless of how honest his motives may have been, his attempt to delve into the situation was fraught with grave possibilities for misunderstanding and potential danger to the welfare of both the Spanish speaking and English speaking people of this State. This Committee feels that his efforts, justly merit condemnation as a gross and colossal blunder.[58]

The harm was done, the committee concluded, and "the usefulness of Professor Page as a Professor at the University of New Mexico has ceased...the Committee can make but one recommendation to the Board of Regents, namely, that his connection with the University be terminated."[59] Page accepted the committee recommendation and resigned on May 9, 1933. He soon left the state and never returned to university teaching.[60]

The Board of Regents immediately approved the committee report, and took notice of the recommendation that Spanish-speaking New Mexicans should not be the subjects of social surveys. The board referred this determination to the UNM faculty, since it was "of such vital concern to the total educational and research program of the University of New Mexico." The Regents then accepted Richard Page's resignation and sent the report to the governor.[61]

Governor Seligman made no statement on the committee report, but he appeared satisfied with the highly publicized ouster of Richard Page.[62] If he had in mind a similar fate for George Sánchez, he did not act upon it, for Bronson Cutting persuaded the governor to allow Sánchez to remain in of fice. Sánchez blamed the governor for his near downfall. He told General Education Board officials that "certain political forces" within the state had been looking for an opportunity to attack the university and his division. The attack had "nothing to do with whether or not the project was academically sound or professionally proper." Sánchez therefore sought support from Senator Cutting who protected him from further recriminations. The governor, said Sánchez, "has desisted in his efforts insofar as this Division is concerned."[63]

The outcome of this controversy suggests that political alliances counted for more than the viability of an educator's research method. Both Richard Page and George Sánchez defended the survey on scientific grounds, but Page suffered while Sánchez escaped with a stern rebuke. The committee sought a scapegoat not merely to appease Hispanic students and legislators, but also to document that the survey exacerbated racial tensions on campus. The testimony that Hispanic students offered on campus racial discrimination, and the governor's invectives against university spending placed UNM on the defensive. Under these conditions, neither the Board of Regents nor President Zimmerman would defend the academic freedom of an assistant professor new to the state, who employed untested methods, and who lacked political support. George Sánchez had political backing and had already established himself as a dedicated, albeit feisty, champion of equal educational opportunity for Hispanics. He was thus spared.

The Page incident was an indecipherable "rhubarb," one New Mexican educator later recalled.[64] The event might have fueled a lasting animosity between Governor Seligman and the university if Seligman had not suddenly died in September, 1933. The university continued to vie for its share of the state's limited resources, but the acrimony that characterized Seligman's approach to the school subsided with his successors.

This event suggests the reception that new educational ideas could meet if they were introduced without regard for community sentiment. Hispanics and Anglos shared a sense of pride in the state's Spanish heritage and traditions—a pride manifested in the persistence of the Spanish language. This intangible element translated into political influence for Hispanics even as their numbers dwindled in the face of Anglo encroachment. Progressive educators expected the force of scientific authority to justify all their innovations. Whether it was businesslike efficiency in administration or mental testing in differentiating the curriculum, these educators presumed that statistics and technical jargon would woo the public and win over legislators. But Richard Page's resignation shows that educators who ignored the pride and sensitivities of New Mexicans in their rush to implement the latest scientific innovation were doomed to failure.

NOTES

1. Terminology is a problem in dealing with the Spanish-speaking population of New Mexico in the 1920s and 1930s. The term "Chicano" that now refers to persons of Mexican lineage cannot be used to describe New Mexicans in the 1920s and 1930s. The term was used derogatorily to describe recent, often poor Mexican immigrants. In addition, many New Mexicans thought themselves descended directly from pure Spanish antecedents. These New Mexicans referred to themselves as "Spanish-American," "Hispanic-American," or simply "Hispanic." These terms, and the more awkward but most appropriate term, "Spanish-speaking," will be used interchangeably throughout this study. The term "Anglo" will refer to all non-Hispanic Caucasians, but I acknowledge the inaccuracy of that term. The term conveniently sums up all non-Hispanic Caucasians. Both groups used the term to refer to non-Hispanic Caucasians.

2. Albuquerque *Tribune*, April 26, 1933, 1.

3. Albuquerque *Journal*, April 27, 1933, 1.

4. Albuquerque *Tribune*, April 27, 1933, 1.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*, 5.

7. Albuquerque *Journal*, April 28, 1933, 1.

8. E. B. Fincher, *Spanish-Americans as a Political Factor in New Mexico, 1912-1950* (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1950; reprint ed., New York: Arno Press, 1974), 9-10; and Carolyn Zeleny, *Relations Between the Spanish-Americans and Anglo-Americans in New Mexico; A Study of Conflict and Accommodation in a Dual-Ethnic Situation* (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1944; reprint ed., New York: Arno Press, 1974), 201.

9. Warren Beck, *New Mexico; A History of Four Centuries* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 306.

10. Beck, *New Mexico*, 309-311; and Fincher, *Spanish-Americans as a Political Force*, 101-109.

11. In one such exchange Regents president Henry G. Coors, Jr. had not provided Seligman with a satisfactory report on a school trip. Seligman demanded the information and then complained, "I have already heard entirely too much talk that I am antagonistic to the University and I feel that this situation to a great extent has been caused by the talk of the members of your Board and the Faculty, and which is far from being the facts as I have at no time, nor am I now, antagonistic in any way to the University of New Mexico, and I shall never do anything but what I think is for the benefit of the University. The utter lack of confidence that the Board and Faculty have shown to this administration is not conducive of bringing about the good will and what is best for the university." Governor Arthur Seligman to Henry G. Coors, Jr., December 24, 1931, University Secretary Record Group, Box 23, Folder: Coors, Henry G., 1931-33, University of New Mexico Special Collections (hereafter UNM).

12. Phillip B. Gonzales, "Spanish Heritage and Ethnic Protest in New Mexico: The Anti-Fraternity Bill of 1933," *New Mexico Historical Review* 61 (October, 1986): 288-289.

13. Gladys R. Leff, "George I. Sánchez: Don Quixote of the Southwest" (Ph.D. dissertation, North Texas State University, 1976), 142-143, 151-153; and George I. Sánchez to Leo M. Favrot, April 26, 1933, Ser. 1, NM1, Box 100, Folder 900, in General Education Board Papers, Rockefeller Archive Center, Pocantico Hills, New York (hereafter GEB, RAC).

14. Albuquerque *Tribune*, April 26, 27, 28 29; May 3, 4, 5, 1933; and Albuquerque *Journal*, April 27, 28, 29, 30; May 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 1933.

15. Governor Arthur Seligman to Hon. Henry Coors, April 27, 1933, Governor's Papers, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives (hereafter NMSRCA), Santa Fe.

16. Governor Arthur Seligman to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., April 27, 1933, Governor's Papers, NMSRCA.

17. Governor Arthur Seligman to Senator Bronson Cutting, April 27, 1933, Governor's Papers, NMSRCA.

18. David H. Stevens to Governor Arthur Seligman, May 5, 1933, Governor's Papers, NMSRCA.

19. Senator Bronson Cutting to Governor Arthur Seligman, May 4, 1933, Governor's Papers, NMSCRA.

20. Governor Arthur Seligman to Senator Bronson Cutting, May 15, 1933, Governor's Papers, NMSRCA.

21. Albuquerque *Tribune*, April 27, 1933, 6.

22. George I. Sánchez, "Group Differences and Spanish-Speaking Children—A Critical Review," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 16 (1932), 549-550; and Sánchez, "Scores of Spanish-Speaking Children on Repeated Tests," *The Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology* 40 (March, 1932), 229.

23. On the reliance of Progressive educators on scientific methods, see Lawrence A. Cremin, *American Education; The Metropolitan Experience, 1876-1980* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 223, 229, 243. On the trend toward scientism in the social sciences, see Robert C. Bannister, *Sociology and Scientism; The American Quest for Objectivity, 1880-1940* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 4-11, 161-163, 232-238.

24. "Proceedings at Hearing Before the Committee Appointed by the Board of Regents of the University of New Mexico for the Purpose of Investigating the Racial Attitude Survey," May 3-5, 1933, 48-49, Special Reports: Hearing on Racial Prejudice, Governor Arthur Seligman Papers, NMSRCA.

25. Ibid., 49, 52.

26. Richard M. Page, "Brief Prepared for Investigating Committee, in Defense of the Race Study," May, 1933, 2-3, Box #161, Folder 1, Richard M. Page Papers, UNM.

27. *Ibid.*, 6.

28. *Ibid.*, 11.

29. *Ibid.*, 12.

30. "Proceedings...," 7-8.

31. Page, "Brief...," 14.

32. *Ibid.*, 14.

33. There is no concrete evidence that identifies the governor's informant. One account came from the man who later took the position Page vacated; he recalled being told that a copy of the survey fell into the hands of "a Spanish-speaking member of the state legislature" who then demanded that the governor do something about it. See Philip H. DuBois, "A Psychologist in Idaho and New Mexico in the 1930s: Some Recollections," *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 24 (January, 1988), 109. The legislator may have been State Senator Juan A. Sedillo, who had recently introduced legislation to outlaw fraternities at UNM on the grounds that they discriminated against Spanish-Americans. Sedillo was a leader in the Progressive wing of New Mexico's Republican Party, the faction that Senator Bronson Cutting led in a cross-over campaign to support Seligman in the 1930 election. See Gonzales, "Spanish Heritage," 292-293.

34. In spring, 1933, the Board of Regents included president Henry G. Coors, Jr., an Albuquerque attorney and active Democrat; Dr. William Randolph Lovelace, an Albuquerque physician whose clients included Arthur Seligman; M. Ralph Brown, an Albuquerque attorney and former Republican state legislator; Mrs. Frances Halloran Marron, wife of a prominent Democratic businessman in Albuquerque; and Glenn L. Emmons, a Gallup banker.

35. Seligman was considering appointments to the Board of Regents for over a month when the controversy broke out. These delays were not unusual for Seligman, but the survey investigation prolonged his final decision until mid-June when Marron, Brown, and Emmons left the board. One of the new Regents was John W. Hernandez, Seligman's first Spanish-American appointee to the board. Albuquerque *Journal*, April 6, 1933; Arthur Seligman to Ralph Brown, July 10, 1933, University Secretary Records Group, Box 23, Folder: Brown, M. Ralph, 1931-33, UNM; and Board of Regents Agenda and Memoranda, 1933-34, University Secretary Records Group, Box 14, UNM.

36. University of New Mexico, Board of Regents, Minutes, April 29, 1933.

37. UNM, Board of Regents, Minutes, April 29, 1933.

38. Mrs. Georgia Lusk, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and Mrs. Margaret Abreu, Assistant School Superintendent, refused to testify on the grounds that they had no knowledge of the survey and did not "assume any responsibility for work or publications of George I. Sánchez." See "Report of Committee Appointed by Board of Regents of the University of New Mexico to Investigate into and Report on the Responsibility of those Connected with the Attempted Social Attitude Survey," [May. 1933], 1, 3-5, Special Reports: Hearing on Racial Prejudice, Governor Arthur Seligman's Papers, NMSRCA.; and Georgia Lusk to Gilberto Espinosa, May 2, 1933, telegram, University Secretary Records Group, Box 25, Department of Psychology, Racial Questionnaire, 1933, UNM.

39. Page, "Brief...," 1-2.

40. *Ibid.*, 2-5.

41. L.L. Thurstone and E.J. Chave, *The Measurement of Attitude; A Psychophysical Method and Some Experiments with a Scale for Measuring Attitude toward the Church* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1929), xii, 4.

42. D.D. Droba, "Methods for Measuring Attitudes," *The Psychological Bulletin* 29 (May, 1932), 313.

43. L.L. Thurstone, "Attitudes Can Be Measured," *The American Journal of Sociology* 33 (January 1928), 534.

44. Page, "Brief...," 5-6.

45. "Proceedings at Hearing...," 32.

46. *Ibid.*, 33-34, 54.

47. *Ibid.*, 58.

48. *Ibid.*, 63-66.

49. *Ibid.*, 72.

50. James Nelson Mowry, "A Study of the Educational Thought and Action of George I. Sánchez," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, 1977), 23-28.

51. "Proceedings of Hearing...," 109-110.

52. *Ibid.*, 114.

53. *Ibid.*, 118.

54. *Ibid.*, 142-143.

55. "Report...," 11, 14.

56. Mowry, "A Study...," 60-71.

57. "Report...," 11, 13.

58. *Ibid.*, 11-12.

59. *Ibid.*, 12.

60. Albuquerque *Tribune*, May 10, 1933, 1. Following the New Mexico incident Page consulted with L.L. Thurstone about taking his case to the American Association of University Professors for redress. Thurstone said that the A.A.U.P. was not likely to help him. Thurstone also complimented Page on "the very clear summary of the scaling method" that Page had presented to the committee, but thought that the whole project would have had more success if the reverse scales (Spanish-American attitudes on Anglos) had been sent out first. Thurstone was surprised that the race study had elicited resentment in New Mexico. (L.L. Thurstone to Richard M. Page, September 1, 1933, Page Papers, UNM.) After leaving New Mexico Page went to Chicago where he worked as a research director and editor for the Chicago School Board until 1956, when he moved to California. He died in 1975. (Page biographical file, UNM).

61. UNM, Board of Regents, Minutes, May 10, 1933.

62. Albuquerque *Tribune*, May 10, 1933, 1, editorial; and Albuquerque *Journal*, May 10, 11, 1933, 1.

63. George I. Sánchez to Leo M. Favrot, May 11, 1933, Ser. 1, NM1, Box 100, Folder 900, GEB, RAC.

64. Tom Wiley quoted in Leff, "George I. Sánchez...," 159.

The Gender Effect: The Early Curricula of Beloit College and Rockford Female Seminary

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DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, HUNDREDS of seminaries and colleges were established along the railroad belt that crossed the American frontier. Congregational and Presbyterian church leaders founded Beloit College (Beloit, Wisconsin, 1846), a male college, and Rockford Female Seminary (Rockford, Illinois, 1847) in the fertile Rock River valley of northern Illinois and southern Wisconsin.[1] These leaders hoped to spread the intellectual and religious heritage of Puritan New England through Beloit and Rockford. Yale College, which educated many Beloit faculty members and trustees, was the model for the college. Mary Lyon's Mount Holyoke, a respected women's seminary in Massachusetts, inspired the founders of Rockford Female Seminary.

The same men founded both Beloit and Rockford—a unique situation. Anna Peck Sill (1816-1889), the seminary's first principal, constantly fought to overcome the many inequalities between the institutions and to circumvent trustee-imposed gender limitations. Although some historians have castigated Sill and other female seminary principals for perpetuating a patriarchical social structure, they have largely ignored the political climate in which these women operated.[2] The close proximity of the two Rock River institutions offers a unique opportunity to place Sill's rhetoric in its political context. By emphasizing acceptable values and traditional social roles for her students, Sill could push for high academic standards, raise money that gave her some independence, turn the seminary into a college, and thwart efforts to oust her.

Establishment of Beloit College and Rockford Female Seminary and subsequent resource allocations resembled nineteeth century family patterns. Great joy usually greeted the birth of a son in a nineteenth century household. Family members poured their dreams and material resources on the son, who represented their future reputation and fortunes. A daughter's birth occasioned less happiness. A daughter, whether single or married, could not insure the continuance of the family name or add much to the family's wealth, for women were barred from professions and lucrative occupations. A daughter usually received less education than her brother, very little if the family suffered severe reverses.[3]

Fifty-four Congregational and Presbyterian church leaders from three states met in Beloit, Wisconsin on August 6, 1844 to discuss the birth and nurture of midwestern collegiate institutions. Needing well-trained ministers and teachers to evangelize the frontier, these leaders—like the Yale Band of southern Illinois and other Second Great Awakening missionaries—agreed to found men's colleges.

Reverend Aratus Kent, a revered home missionary and a strong, persuasive advocate for women, led the convention. Years of experience in frontier Illinois convinced Kent that successful evangelism required Christian women to nurture children at home and in the new district schools. Frontier women and men, Kent concluded, needed an equal education. He convinced his church brethren to establish a female seminary on the basis of equality with the proposed men's college at Beloit. The Rockford Female Seminary charter, for example, included the power to confer "honors and degrees."[4]

Many chartered colleges, the Beloit churchmen knew, never opened their doors and most schools had meager financial backing, inadequate facilities, and poorly prepared students. The churchmen decided that copying the Yale curriculum would help to establish the institutions on a sound financial basis and assure educational quality. By 1847, the churchmen had acquired a charter for Beloit College, laid the cornerstone of the first building, and attracted experienced professors who taught the prescribed course of studies to five young men. The fledgling college retained a gifted president, the Reverend Aaron L. Chapin (1817-1892), a Yale College and Union Theological Seminary graduate.[5]

The trustees acquired a charter for the women's institution in 1847 and selected a site in Rockford. But most Beloit churchmen lacked Kent's ardor for the higher education of women, and few wished to grant degrees to women. The trustees therefore funnelled their energies into Beloit. An economic downturn, the trustees noted, hurt the men's college. They added that Rockford subscribers had not paid their pledges—neither had Beloit's donors—and that they needed guidance about building a women's institution. Zilpah Grant Banister's Ipswich and Mary Lyon's Mount Holyoke challenged their students with solid courses, but most seminaries were little more than finishing schools. The trustees wrote to Mount Holyoke officials and to Banister, a friend of one of the trustees, but hesitated to act on the advice they had received. Finding leadership posed another problem.[6] Aratus Kent agreed to serve as president of the trustees. But the trustees failed to identify a president and took no further action for two years.

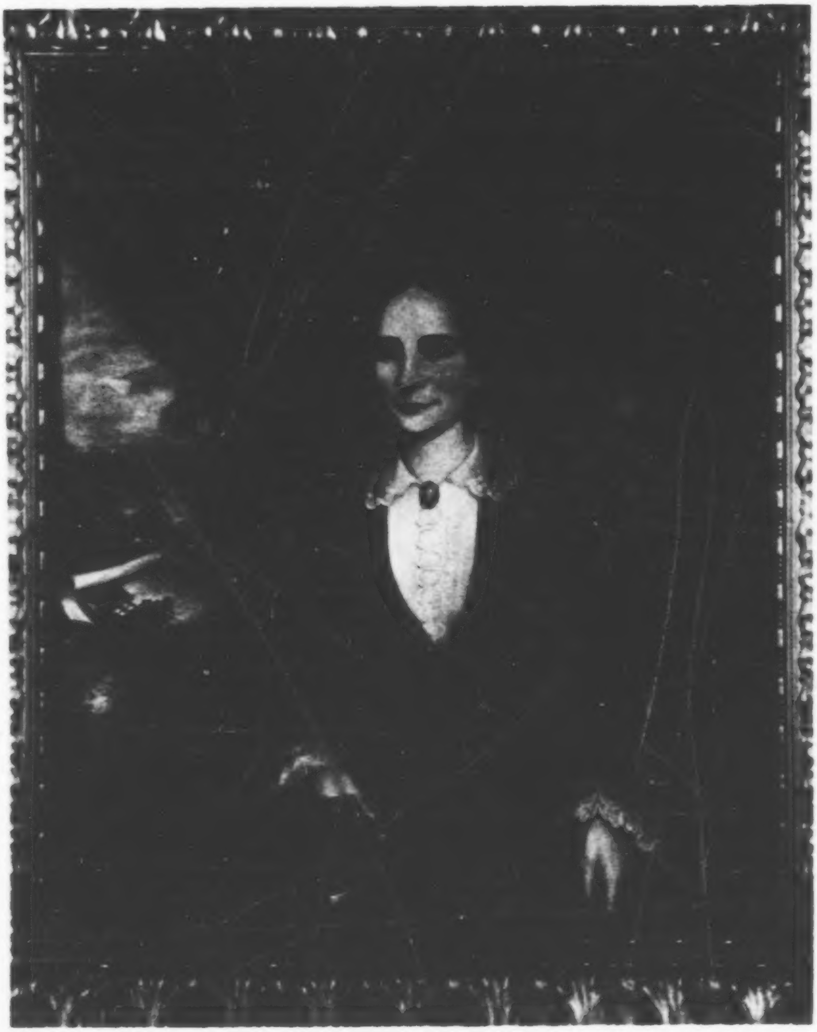
A group of Rockford Congregationalists grew tired of waiting, and invited Anna Sill of New York to found a female seminary in Rockford in

1849. The group could not promise Sill a salary or a specific number of students, but it gave her rent-free use of an abandoned courthouse—and held out the hope that Beloit's founders might later adopt the seminary. Sill became an academy preceptress after closing the female seminary she established in New York, probably for lack of financial resources. She had discussed prospects for establishing a female seminary on the frontier with missionaries, and accepted the Rockford offer because the town already held a seminary charter and had the support of the Rockford ministers. God led her to Rockford, she wrote in her diary; surely God would keep her there. Sill soon demonstrated her administrative competence, and her daring spirit gave her credibility. Merely by accepting the invitation to come to Rockford, Sill had already taken more risks for the school she boldly called the Rockford Female Seminary than had the Beloit trustees.[7]

The trustees haggled for three years over whether to accept Sill and her school. Trustees strongly allied to Beloit College questioned her qualifications to head the seminary. Their first choice was a well-qualified male, but they would settle for a Mount Holyoke graduate, perhaps the daughter of a leading New England family. Sill's grandfather was a self-taught judge and New York legislator. But Sill's father, a farmer, died when she was a small child. Sill then worked her way through little known Phipps Female Seminary in frontier New York. She was more polished than most Rockford settlers, but a leading trustee said that she lacked real "finish."[8]

The trustees soon came to admire Sill's ability to attract students, hire and supervise teachers, administer public examinations, and raise large pledges. A committed and persuasive evangelist, Sill regularly attended Congregational church services and actively participated in church life. She was not in Rockford to keep busy before marriage: the seminary was her "sacred" mission.[9]

The trustees hoped that Rockford community enthusiasm for Sill would translate into financial support.[10] They might have hesitated had they known her determination. Serious differences between Sill and the trustees soon emerged. Educated women, the trustees believed, would better serve their husbands and families. Sill's understanding of evangelical Christianity guided her views: to love and serve Christ, a woman must be a useful member of society. But social usefulness could lead women beyond the domestic sphere. Sill exalted the callings already open to women—missionary and teacher, as well as wife and mother—and tried to expand women's opportunities. She urged her students to become missionaries, not missionary wives, even if they had to travel long distances alone, establish institutions, evangelize, teach, and perform other duties associated with men. When women made inroads into medicine and law, Sill encouraged her students to study these professions. Women were deprived of their rights and their ability to serve God, Sill believed, since men's colleges offered a



Anna Peck Sill, c. 1865, founder and first president of Rockford Female Seminary. *Courtesy*: Rockford College Archives.

better education than female seminaries.[11] The lengthy and increasingly bitter struggle between Sill and the trustees over the seminary's future culminated in Sill's campaign to implement the charter clause that gave the seminary power to grant degrees. Sill did not express her dream publicly for many years, but the provision guided her actions.

Sill and her seminary finally accepted, the trustees turned to developing Beloit and Rockford. They budgeted for faculty salaries, building costs, and tuition fees, and approved separate courses of study. The authority structure, institutional finances, organization of student life, and ultimate trustee control of the curriculum, all helped to perpetuate gender differences. Students quickly learned that the trustees considered women inferior to men. But Sill used her curricular authority and her control of campus activities, rules, and rituals, to counter these lessons.

Institutional governance reflected women's subservience. The Beloit and Rockford charters provided for the appointment of a president, the title granted Chapin, but Sill received the title "principal." Sill could attend some trustee meetings, but no woman could serve on either board. The trustees told Sill to model her school after Mount Holyoke and to consult with Zilpah Grant Banister, whom the trustees regarded as an authority on women's education. When Banister criticized Sill for overworking her students, the trustees sent her 40 miles to ask Aratus Kent to replace her as seminary leader. Kent refused, and Sill remained in office.[12] Males, the trustees believed, had the right to evaluate, control, and punish women.

Financial policies also helped to assure women's subservience. Anna Sill, like Mary Lyon, viewed her labors as missionary service, and willingly accepted a low salary. But Sill constantly pleaded for—and sometimes angrily demanded—higher salaries to attract well-educated teachers. The trustees, doubting that women needed as much money as men, responded reluctantly and slowly. Most trustees held degrees from prestigious New England colleges and had families to support. They saw no injustice in paying less money to seminary faculty members—mostly single women who attended Rockford or another female seminary and who boarded on campus. Teaching was only temporary employment: a woman's real career was marriage and a family. Male teachers at Rockford earned more than females. Rockford's male music professor received $1,400 a year, excluding board. The $400 to $500 a year that women department heads received included board.[13] The trustees ignored the seminary when they began an endowment campaign for Beloit professorships. Rockford's $100,000 value in 1876 included no endowment, while Beloit's $225,600 value included a $130,600 endowment.[14] Beloit faculty members could purchase large New England style homes near the college. Sill's two small rooms and the cramped quarters of her teachers contrasted sharply with these homes. Students may not have known about the salary disparities, but the visible differences in male and female faculty member lifestyles spoke volumes about the relative importance of careers for men and women.

Trustee rules for student conduct also reflected gender disparities. Nineteenth century ministers emphasized the moral and religious education of women. Women, these ministers believed, were naturally endowed with greater religious and moral sensibilities than men. Sill, like Mary Lyon, knew that she had little discretion in this area because of constant public scrutiny of women's institutions. Boarding schools, families were warned, corrupted women. Sill therefore promulgated rules and regulations that kept her students free of temptation—especially sexual entanglement—but that also gave her students little opportunity to exercise moral maturity. "Sems" could not date or even talk with males without a chaperone. In fact, they could not shop in Rockford without the presence of a teacher.

Sill tried to turn these restrictions into opportunities. Many students were hard pressed to remain in school for more than a year or even a semester. Sill therefore emulated Mary Lyon's attempt to make the greatest use of each day by scheduling every moment of student time. A zealous missionary, Sill required her students to follow an intensive program of moral cleansing and instruction to assure their conversion and spiritual nurturing. Rockford students emulated their Mount Holyoke peers by publicly confessing their sins and attending half-hour morning chapels to hear Sill preach. The students reconvened each afternoon to hear a second sermon on women's social, moral, and personal responsibilities. Rockford students attended voluntary prayer meetings, a daily half-hour of devotional time, and Sunday school and church services. Each day, these students memorized a verse of the Bible. The seminary suspended classes for annual revivals that included evangelistic sermons, prayers, and songs. The many scheduled religious activities, Sill hoped, would produce ideal seminary graduates: "Noble, Christian women, with pure hearts...and an enlarged view of Christian benevolence."[15]

Beloit's trustees hoped to develop habits of Christian "thought, faith and rectitude" in their students. But student exposure to an intellectual, moral, and spiritual faculty—not purification and instruction—would produce these habits in men. Beloit students would also develop moral maturity by living off campus, and deciding how and where to spend their free time. Beloit men had fewer religious obligations than Rockford students. Males attended prayers twice daily. The second of two Sunday services contained "a lecture on some religious topic."[16] Beloit revivals were less intense than seminary revivals. Beloit men learned internal moral restraint. Rockford women learned that they needed external regulation.

Sill could most easily reduce gender disparities in the formal curriculum. Beloit and Rockford students, for example, studied moral philosophy (ethics) through the same textbooks: Butler's celebrated *Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion*, Alexander's *Evidences of Christianity*, and Wayland's *Moral Philosophy*. Sill invoked women's moral superiority to justify the study of these textbooks, which were also used at Harvard, Yale, and Amhurst. But equality went no further. Beloit students also studied New Testament Greek for four years to speak with authority on theological and moral matters.[17] The trustees shared the common belief that women could not tackle the subject. Rather than arouse trustee hostility, Sill had Rockford students study the English Bible—the customary practice for women.[18] The claim of spiritual authority over males could only take Rockford women so far.

The secular courses at Beloit aimed more at shaping a man's mind and character than at preparing him for an occupation. "Faculty psychology" theory, articulated by the Yale Report of 1828, asserted that exercising the mental faculties—not information acquisition—best developed the intellect. President Chapin agreed that collegiate education aimed at "a symmetrical development of a man." Beloit prescribed a collegiate course of study to assure the proper strengthening of the student's "weak side." This strengthening helped to develop a leader with "a will power that can, if need be, overcome aversion and cross inclination."[19]

Table 1: Collegiate Courses of Study, 1854

Beloit College (Four-year Course)		Rockford Female Seminary (Three-year Course)	
Subject	No. of Courses	Subject	No. of Courses
Latin/Greek	17	Latin	4
Mathematics	7	Mathematics	6
Sciences	7	Sciences	6
Rhetoric/Logic	2	Rhetoric/Logic	2
Religion/Ethics	2	Religion/Ethics	5
Modern literature	0	Modern literature	2
Social sciences	2	Social sciences	3

The seminary's "collegiate" course, supposedly the equal of the college, contained many courses found in the Beloit curriculum (Table 1). The trustees hoped that Rockford women would develop their mental capacities "in a balanced proportion." But the Rockford course of study tempered an emphasis on disciplinary studies with the need to impart "those accomplishments which adorn and grace the female mind."[20] Sill expected to develop a four-year course of study, but in the meantime, she followed Mount Holyoke's three-year curriculum. This course was less rigorous than the four-year college course. Beloit men took 39 prescribed courses; Rockford women, 29.

Lacking an adequate secondary school system, the trustees, like most frontier college founders, opened preparatory departments for both institutions. These departments drew large numbers of students. The men's course, which resembled the classical course of the Latin grammar school, included English, Greek and Latin grammar, geography, arithmetic, algebra through simple equations, Cicero, Caesar, Virgil, the four Gospels in the Greek Testament and the Greek *Reader*. The one-year, simplified course for females included no Greek and only basic courses in Latin.[21]

Beloit featured a heavy concentration of Latin and Greek courses. Students who wanted to enter Beloit's collegiate course took an oral examination in Greek and Latin grammar, Cicero's *Select Orations*, Sallust or Caesar's *Gallic War*, Virgil, the four Gospels in the Greek Testament, and the Greek *Reader*. Beloit males translated and analyzed Latin and Greek classics in their freshman and sophomore years..[22] The seminary examined entering collegiate students in Latin by 1854 and offered Cornelius Nepos, Virgil, and Horace in the collegiate course.[23]

Mathematics, argued philosophers John Locke and Isaac Watts, was practical, disciplined the mind, and was the best means "of controlling the imagination, perfecting reason and judgment, and inducing a habit of method and love of order." Beloit—like Harvard and other eastern colleges—gave mathematics curricular prominence. In the 1850s, Beloit freshmen began with algebra and geometry; sophomores continued with plane and spherical trigonometry, navigation, surveying, and conic sections. Juniors studied differential and integral calculus.[24]

Women, most male observers conceded, should learn basic arithmetic, but they did not need—nor could they comprehend—advanced mathematics. Many female educators disagreed. Most women, wrote popular author Hannah Moore, had incorrect judgment because they neither reasoned closely nor examined ideas from multiple viewpoints. Serious study of mathematics, many women educators agreed, would remedy these deficiencies. Sill examined Rockford entrants in arithmetic, geometry, and algebra in 1854, subjects contained in the curricula of many other seminaries. She added several male preserves to the seminary curriculum—first trigonometry, then conic sections, solid geometry, and spherical trigonometry.[25]

Male commentators considered science, history, English literature, and rhetoric easy enough for women. Women teachers in the female seminaries experimented with these "newer" disciplines and with innovative teaching methods. Many women educators, including Mary Lyon, Almira

Phelps, and Emma Willard, adopted the theories of noted scientist Amos Eaton. The sciences, Eaton believed, would captivate the average man or woman if teachers and authors presented their subject matter non-technically and inductively. Almira Phelps wrote highly regarded and widely used science textbooks based on Eaton's methods.[26] Science and other disciplines associated with the education of women gradually made inroads into the curricula of the male colleges. Many aspiring professors traveled to Europe to gain more knowledge and advanced degrees in these disciplines. They returned home with Ph.D.s, specialized knowledge, scientific equipment, and new teaching methods.

Rockford women and Beloit men used the same textbooks for natural philosophy (physics) and chemistry in 1854. They also studied botany, a popular subject especially among young women in both England and America, and geology. Women studied Hitchcock's popular geology text, used at both Mount Holyoke and Amhurst. The men used St. John's geology text and Dana's *Mineralogy*. Rockford and Beloit students also studied physiology. Educator Catharine Beecher urged women to study physiology because mothers and teachers needed to understand the human body.[27]

Joseph Emerson, a noted educator of women, a former Harvard tutor, and a Rockford trustee, said that Harvard had the best scientific equipment, but Yale had better science students because they were "allowed to use the instruments themselves, but not at Cambridge." Beloit professors—including a physician—followed Yale's lead and gathered many "minerals and rock formations," "fossils from the Silurian rocks," "marine and fresh water shells," and over 1,500 plants. These professors also acquired chemical and physics apparatus to conduct laboratory experiments. Rockford's scientific equipment never matched the Beloit apparatus, though Zilpah Grant Banister donated some shells.[28]

Female seminaries nurtured many early experiments in the teaching of history. Finding no adequate history textbooks, Sarah Pierce, who ran a noted school in Litchfield, Connecticut, compiled her own books and published successive volumes in 1811, 1816, 1817, and 1818. Harriet Beecher (Stowe), a Pierce student, wrote: "Litchfield Academy was the only school I have ever known which really carried out a thorough course of ancient and modern history." Emma Willard also wrote popular history books that were used throughout the United States and abroad. Her students copied her methods of instruction in the 200 schools they founded in the South and West.[29] Early Rockford seminarians only studied the two history texts required at Mount Holyoke: Goldsmith's history of England and France and his history of Greece and Rome. Beloit sophomores took an ancient history course, and juniors studied medieval and modern history. Rockford and Beloit seniors studied Wayland's *Political Economy*. Beloit seniors also studied Story's *On the Constitution of the United States*, a required text at Harvard.

Beloit had the stronger program, perhaps because of President Chapin's expertise in history and political science.

Many early nineteenth century educators assumed that college students could read English literature on their own. Harvard faculty members did not teach Shakespeare, still viewed with suspicion by many clerics, until 1863. Serious study of English literature began at Yale in 1870.[30] Neither did the faculty include English literature in Beloit's early course offerings. Rockford students studied English prose and poetry from Goldsmith's celebrated text and Kame's *Elements of Criticism*.

Rhetoric included both written and oral persuasion. Male colleges had long made essays an "extra" assignment. Beloit assigned an exercise in composition, elocution, or debate each week. Students published their essays in *The Beloit College Monthly*, a literary magazine founded in 1853 and modeled after the *Yale Literary*. Beloit and Rockford used Whately's *Rhetoric*, a required text at Harvard and Yale. The proliferation of women authors—authorship became a suitable and lucrative occupation for some women—led Rockford faculty members to require biweekly essays. *The Gleaner*, a literary magazine, published these essays until it sputtered out of existence, probably for lack of funds. Male students debated at campus literary society meetings, sometimes before the local community. The trustees, believing women too delicate for legal or political wrangling, did not permit Rockford women to debate or to perform before an audience. But Rockford's thriving student literary societies devoted weekly meetings to reading essays on literary and moral topics.[31]

Graduation exercises gave visibility to these disparities. Sill worked for many years to end the practice of awarding certificates to Rockford students and degrees to Beloit graduates. The 1854 student editors of *The Beloit College Monthly* considered it "extraordinary" that women at Lawrence University at Appleton, Wisconsin, received the Lady Bachelor of Arts degree when they graduated. "We commend the institution to all ladies wishing to extend the 'sphere' of their 'rights' into the balmy regions of Bachelordom," the editors commented.[32] But Sill considered the Lawrence practice laudable, not a travesty.

Sill also fought a trustee recommendation that males read aloud the essays that seminary students composed for these exercises. Emerson explained the trustee position in 1852: "It [the true model of womanly character] is a fountain flowing from a deep-pure well of truth—yet not ostentatious of its truth—not lifting its abundant water aloft & dashing them mightily like Niagara—but letting them well up from the fullness of the heart." Only their families would learn the truths that women possessed. But Emerson convinced neither Sill nor many Rockford women. Fierce student protests led the trustees to permit "sems" to read their essays.[33]

Guest speakers delivered the commencement addresses at both institutions. These men—women never spoke—discussed the differences between the sexes, justified the disparity between the male and female courses of study and taught the students that academic authority belonged to males as a natural right. President Chapin told the graduation audience in 1862, "Woman is the representative of affection: man of thought. Woman carries her strength in her heart, man in his head. Neither one monopolizes the special department; but by eminence, he is intellect—she is love."

Training for domesticity was a norm at the seminary but not at the college. The trustees shared the popular belief that women were loving beings who needed fathers and husbands to think for them. A woman's natural inclination to love, the trustees added, found full expression within the home. Academic subjects gave women enough knowledge to share the interests of their husbands and to teach their children. Moral training safeguarded women and their families from debauchery. Instruction in the "ornamentals" added the finish that women needed to carry out their divinely appointed role in society.

Sill agreed with the trustees that the seminary must educate women for their domestic roles. But she did not believe that women's fragility confined them to the domestic sphere. Women and men were equally capable of thinking, but since most women married and had children, they needed domestic education. Sill, like Emma Willard, told parents that an education would give their daughters intellectual stimulation and the skills to function as wives and mothers. Parents otherwise would consider seminary a waste of money.[34]

Fluency in one or more languages was a desirable ornament for young ladies. But traditionalists were reluctant to replace the classics with modern languages in curricula for men. The Yale Report said that mastery of modern languages required only "an effort of memory;" thus, modern languages should be studied only as "accomplishments."[35] Some men's colleges rejected this argument and made room for modern languages in their curricula, but Beloit and Rockford sided with the traditionalists. Rockford gave a nod towards domesticity by offering non-credit coursework in French or German for an extra two dollars a term.

Knowledge of the fine arts made a domesticated young woman more appealing to the opposite sex, and prepared her to entertain family and friends. Music, painting, and dancing, Almira Phelps told her seminary students, were "interludes in the great drama of life's duties."[36] For additional fees, Rockford women might study piano, melodeon, drawing, watercolors, oil painting, and ornamental needle work. Subject mastery required a lifetime of dedication, and was therefore discouraged in favor of devotion to family duties.

All seminary dormitory residents performed "domestic service...under a regular system." These students made pies, peeled potatoes, swept floors, and completed other domestic chores every week. This requirement, Sill understood, taught students how to perform domestic duties, and reduced costs. At Rockford, as at Mount Holyoke, impoverished students could then attend the seminary. Beloit males performed no domestic service, and students who could not afford tuition applied for scholarships. Domestic duties, however justified, placed the students on par with servants and thus lowered the prestige of the institution. Women, both sexes learned, first had to free men from drudgery and facilitate male entrance into the higher regions of abstract thought.

Domestic duties also reinforced the popular view that women were extensions of and subordinates to men. President Chapin told a seminary audience that each woman was to help her brother: "Her calm spirit represses his boisterous passion, & her cheerful confidence soothes & lifts him out of his despondency." She was "companion to her husband" by making it "her study to anticipate his wants and please him." She was mother "shedding light & love thro' the channels wh.[ich] maternal instinct opens, on a little group of young immortals." Men led society, Rockford students learned, and women made men "better fitted for all duty."[37] Sill agreed to impose domestic duties. But she did not permit the seminary to serve as a hospitality center for Beloit students, and she soon banished them from her campus except during the annual graduation celebrations—a move that angered Beloit trustees.[38]

Had nineteenth century colleges continued to exclude women, Sill might never have upgraded the seminary to full collegiate rank. But the gradual acceptance of women into the newly planted state colleges and universities and the founding of Vassar (1861), Wellesley, and Smith as first-rank colleges, encouraged Sill to circumvent trustee-imposed gender limitations. Sill first had to prove that her students wanted—and could master—higher studies, and she gradually changed the collegiate course of instruction to resemble the Beloit curriculum. During the 1850s, Rockford offered a fourth year of study for "resident graduates" who continued their studies while teaching classes. This extra year became a four-year collegiate curriculum in 1864. How Sill convinced the trustees to add the fourth year of study is not known. But Sill and the trustees followed the latest developments in higher education and tried to emulate schools with the highest standards. Sill might have cited the founding of Vassar College or the example of Mount Holyoke, which expanded its seminary program to four years in 1861.

When women's colleges, coeducational universities, and high schools drew students away from Rockford in the 1870s, Sill argued that the seminary needed to offer degree programs to attract students. But Sill knew that the trustees would permit the awarding of degrees only when the seminary offered courses in ancient languages. By 1876, Rockford women in the collegiate course were required to take three years of Greek, French, or German. The Greek program included grammar, composition, Xenophon's *Anabasis*, *Herodotus*, Homer's *Iliad*, Demosthenes, Greek drama, and Plato.[39] By 1881 Latin entrance requirements for the collegiate course included Virgil's *Aeneid, Bucolics, Georgics*, and Cicero's *Orations*. Rockford examined entrants in algebra and offered geometry, plane and spherical trigonometry, and calculus. Rockford students eagerly tackled the upgraded curriculum. Their academic excellence impressed the community and most trustees.[40] Table 2 compares the Beloit and Rockford curricula in 1881.

Table 2: Classical Four-Year Course of Study, 1881

Beloit College		Rockford Female Seminary	
Subject	No. of Courses*	Subject	No. of Courses
Latin and Greek	13	Latin	5
German	3	Greek/Fr./Germ.	7
Mathematics	7	Mathematics	6
Science	6	Science	4
History	2	History/English lit.	7
English literature	2		
Ethics	2	English Bible	8
Social sciences	3	Social sciences	2

*Beloit College divided the year into three terms; Rockford, into two semesters.

Sill improved the curriculum, but the trustees noted that she had not upgraded the faculty. She considered hiring males with doctorates to teach the new courses in languages and mathematics. But, deciding that male professors might reduce her power, Sill hired them only for music and fine arts posts. Instead, Sill asked the trustees to permit her to attract qualified women by increasing Rockford faculty salaries.[41] The trustees agreed—if Sill could raise a large endowment. Sill had raised small sums from sewing circles and women's missionary groups. But the trustees considered women incapable of serious fundraising because they could not speak in most church services. Sill decided to solicit support from Rockford alumnae—not from parishioners. For years, she had aided needy students, written and visited many alumnae, and entertained graduates who returned to campus. Rockford alumnae—who organized chapters in several midwestern cities—decided to fulfill Sill's dream of a "well endowed and fully equipped college for women" to celebrate the seminary's 25th anniversary. Alumnae appealed to their classmates through correspondence and chapter meetings. The 1872 campaign had a $10,000 goal, but the alumnae raised more than $12,000. The surprised trustees immediately raised faculty salaries, thereby removing another obstacle to college status.[42]

Once the alumnae demonstrated their ability to raise funds—the most onerous task of trusteeship—they asked why women did not set seminary policy. Women, they noted in their 1880 request for board inclusion, donated large sums to the male and female colleges, and made Rockford a successful seminary. The trustees haggled for two years and then allowed women honorary membership. For the first time in over 30 years, Anna Sill attended trustee meetings without an invitation. Women soon became full members, and used their position to advocate recognition of Rockford as a college.[43]

Women also gained greater voice in assessing Rockford's academic quality. Rockford students demonstrated academic achievement in annual public examinations. A committee of professional men judged these examinations, and always wrote glowing reports. When some trustees scoffed at the examinations as theatrics, Sill pressed the trustees to appoint a visiting committee to inspect seminary operations. The committee, appointed in 1871, included only males. But eight women joined the committee within two years. By 1876 only women held membership.[44]

Creating a voice for women students and alumnae, Sill knew, would facilitate attainment of college status. Males dominated the seminary's public communications until the alumnae created *Rockford Seminary Magazine* (1873). The magazine reflected diversity: a feminist denunciation of men who dared to define women's proper place in society followed an article that glorified women who sacrificed themselves for the happiness of others. A tribute to the mother as the presiding genius of the home preceded a summary of women's advances in universities and the professions. An article about Butterick patterns appeared with an essay that called for a woman President of the United States.[45] Anna Sill brooked no challenge to orthodoxy in the magazine—or in class. She also cracked down on student editors—the magazine's editorship soon passed from alumnae to student hands—who criticized the seminary (herself and the faculty). But she did not suppress articles that attacked trustee beliefs about women's abilities and place in society. Sill permitted the editors to print a satire on the domestic requirement. "I could but think it very strange," the contributor wrote, "that our trustees had never thought to set him [the Beloit male] planing boards and boring holes, an hour daily, so that when he graduated he could be a house-builder, as well as I a housekeeper."[46]

Seminary women furthered the campaign for collegiate status by acting as if they attended college. Sill urged her students to imitate the extracurriculum of men's colleges. Intramural debates, to which the Rockford community was invited, led to admittance to the chauvinistic Illinois Inter-Collegiate Oratorical Association in 1881. Students also inaugurated class day exercises, initiated the Junior Exhibition, and held mock book-burnings. Alumnae editors of the *Rockford Seminary Magazine* convinced students to assume the editorship as part of the campaign for collegiate status. Local journalists recognized the motives behind these initiatives and reported on the seminary's steady progress toward full collegiate status.[47] These articles confirmed to the trustees that college status was more than Anna Sill's hair-brained scheme. The entire seminary community—alumnae, faculty, and students—supported the goal.[48]

The growing assertiveness of seminary women disturbed the trustees, who still doubted that experiments in coeducational and women's colleges would succeed. One trustee wondered whether the women would be more submissive if the seminary was a department of Beloit College instead of a distinct institution. Perhaps he was right. Rockford women functioned as an autonomous unit, despite their disabilities. Led by a competent woman, Rockford students, faculty, and alumnae questioned the traditional limitations that males imposed, indeed, why males should define their lives at all. Sill showed that cooperation might result in a measure of equality. The president of the trustees warned that his colleagues would appoint a male president to raise the seminary's status, but Sill was not daunted. She had the support of a powerful group of alumnae that included wives and daughters of the trustees. The alumnae would continue the battle for collegiate status, even if the trustees replaced her.[49]

In 1881, Anna Sill asked three women—including the class valedictorian and the daughter of a trustee—to help obtain trustee aproval for Rockford to grant bachelor's degrees. The trustees agreed, though they required Rockford to make some curricular changes. But they refused to rename the institution Rockford College because it still did not meet the requirements of a collegiate institution.[50] The trustees probably compared Rockford to Beloit, which had a larger library, better scientific equipment, and a much larger endowment. Beloit had only one collegiate course that emphasized ancient languages. Rockford had two degree courses, a traditional—and presumably more rigorous—course, and a scientific course that omitted Latin and Greek but included modern languages, mathematics through calculus, and astronomy. Women who opted for the scientific course, the trustees reasoned, could escape the requirements imposed on male degree candidates.

Beloit's faculty had stronger credentials and a small teacher-student ratio. Three members of Beloit's 12-member faculty held honorary doctorates;

one colleague held the Ph.D.; seven, the M.A., and one, a B.A.—mostly from prestigious eastern colleges. The Beloit faculty taught an average of 150 students during the 1880s. Rockford also featured a low teacher-student ratio: 18 teachers instructed between 175 and 200 students. But most Rockford teachers had been graduated from the seminary, and only one teacher had a degree.

Despite these differences, the seminary women were confident that they would soon attain full collegiate status. They recounted victories at alumnae meetings and discussed the remaining barriers, including the need for more funds and for additional scientific equipment. But 11 more years passed before the trustees recognized a virtual fait accompli and renamed the institution Rockford College.[51] Sill and most founding trustees had died, and Rockford-Beloit bonds were largely severed.

Beloit college founders had limitations, but did provide the frontier with well educated Christian men and women. Their students provide the evidence for this achievement. The trustees could not claim that the institutions had caused their students to make certain life choices, of course, but collegiate education had at least given them the credentials to qualify for certain occupations. A 1900 study of the careers of Beloit College graduates uncovered more than 2,500 ministers, 1,400 lawyers, 750 physicians, college presidents, professors, editors, and scientists. University of Wisconsin president Thomas Chamberlin and New York *Evening Post* editor Horace White were the most distinguished graduates.[52]

Rockford Female Seminary provided the frontier with Christian mothers, wives, missionaries, and teachers, as well as librarians, social workers, editors, and professional musicians. Fifty-eight percent of the 215 women who graduated from Rockford between 1870 and 1899 had married, and 62 percent of the married alumnae had children. But another 39 percent had full-time employment. The alumnae established hospitals, founded southern schools to educate ex-slaves, and became lawyers and physicians. One alumna was a member of the Twelfth General Assembly of Colorado. Another served as vice-president and legal advisor to the American Woman Suffrage Association. One of Rockford's first bachelor's degrees recipients was accorded greater international acclaim than all Beloit alumni combined—Jane Addams, the 1931 Nobel Peace Prize winner.[53]

Today the two institutions flourish as private liberal arts colleges. Religious enthusiasm has waned, and the bitter struggle for educational equality is largely forgotten. A woman sits in the president's office at Rockford College, and a man heads Beloit College. But both institutions are now coeducational.

Many founders devoted their lives to Beloit College and Rockford Female Seminary. They dreamed of uplifting the Old Northwest by providing both sexes with equal educational opportunities. But the founders, whatever their intentions, fell back on old habits of discrimination, and equality was not attained without a struggle led by the woman appointed to head the women's institution. Anna Sill developed strategies to circumvent the gender limitations embodied in the original structures. She upgraded the seminary's course of study to demonstrate that her students deserved college degrees. She enlisted women academic evaluators who challenged the belief that only men could judge the "Sems." She loosened male control over the women's institution by mobilizing her alumnae to raise the seminary's first endowment. The successful alumnae soon questioned the practice of appointing only male trustees. Student emulation of the male college extracurriculum demonstrated their support of Sill's aspirations.

Why was Sill successful? Total commitment was surely one reason. Sill was deeply committed to her students—many of whom became seminary teachers—during her 35 years of leadership. She gave financial help to needy students despite her low salary, wrote and visited numerous alumnae, and enthusiastically welcomed them back to the campus. Students and alumnae reciprocated by providing financial support and encouragement. Sill was a visionary and a pragmatist. Knowing that she could not allow her ambitions to move too far beyond acceptable values, she walked a thin line between tradition and innovation. She thwarted attempts to secure her ouster and gained some independence through fund raising. Sill could be abrasive and unbending, but her sternest critics acknowledged her integrity. Most important, she constantly reminded friends and critics of Rockford's raison d'être. A college would give women greater equality with men. And, after all, wasn't equality of educational opportunity the ideal of the founders?

NOTES

1. The institutions were founded before the railroad had extended that far west from Chicago, but businessmen were urging the communities to finance its extension. See Charles A. Church, *History of Rockford and Winnebago County, Illinois* (Rockford, Ill.: New England Society of Rockford, Illinois, 1900), 266ff; John Brubacher and Willis Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition* 3rd ed. (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1976), 56f. The founders and their students were predominantly white. Anna Sill enrolled three Native Americans, but no blacks or members of other ethnic groups attended the seminary in its early years. Evidence is missing to suggest that ethnic students attended Beloit College although both college and seminary were staunchly abolitionist.

2. See, for example, Jill K. Conway, The First Generation of American Women Graduates, Higher Education, Culture and Professionalism, 1850-1950, A Garland Series, Barbara M. Solomon, ed. (New York: Garland, 1987); Keith Medler, "Mask of Oppression: The Female Seminary Movement in the United States," *New York History* 55 (July, 1974), 261-79; Nina Baym, "Women and the Republic: Emma Willard's Rhetoric of History," *American Quarterly* 43 (March, 1991), 1-23.

3. For three good examples of the treatment of male and female children in the nineteenth century, see Jonathan Messerli, *Horace Mann, A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *Eighty Years and More: Reminiscences, 1815-1897* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1898); and Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1973).

4. The churchmen also agreed to found a collegiate institution in Iowa, but Iowa representatives attended only the first Beloit convention. See A. L. Chapin, "Founders of Beloit College," *Quarter-Centennial Address*, Beloit College Archives, Beloit, Wisconsin, 5. All subsequent references to Beloit College Archives will be abbreviated BCA; Edward Dwight Eaton, *Historical Sketches of Beloit College* (New York: A.S. Barnes & Company, 1928), 21-22; Joseph Emerson, "Dedicatory Address," delivered at the dedication of Sill Hall, 1887, and printed in *Rockford Seminary Magazine* 15 (January, 1887): 2; "An Act To Incorporate the Rockford Female Seminary," Sec. 1, in *Records of the Board of Trustees of Rockford Female Seminary, incorporated 1847*, Rockford College Archives, Rockford, Illinois, 1, 2. All subsequent references to Rockford College Archives will be abbreviated RCA.

5. In his study of the 17 Illinois institutions incorporated under the name of college or university between 1835 and 1852, Frank Bogardus found that only two had survived. John Williston Cook, *Educational History of Illinois* (Chicago, Ill.: Henry O. Shepard, 1912), 288-290. Instead of counting incorporated colleges, however, Colin Burke counted only colleges that actually began classes with students at post-preparatory level (1800-1860). He found a failure rate of seven percent in Illinois and zero percent in Wisconsin. Colin B. Burke, *American Collegiate Populations: A Test of the Traditional View* (New York: New York University Press, 1982), 15, 17. *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Chapin, Aaron Lucius," Eaton, *Sketches*, 31-32, 42-43, 51.

6. J. J. Bushnell, "A Paper: Reminiscences of Early Days and the Financial Affairs of the College," in *Exercises at the Quarter-Centennial Anniversary of Beloit College* (Beloit, Wis.: Garret Verder, 1872), 22-23; Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States*, 1 (New York: The Science Press, 1928), 305f., 457ff.; Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985), 18-19. Chapin to J. Hawes, January 20,1846, Chapin Papers, BCA. Zilpah Grant Banister was the mentor and close friend of Mary Lyon, who died in 1849. Elizabeth A. Green, *Mary Lyon and Mount Holyoke: Opening the Gates* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1979).

7. [Henry M. Goodwin], *Memorials, 1849-1889* (Rockford, Ill.: Daily Electric Register Print, 1889), 8-15; Sill to Emerson, Robertson and Sanford, July 8, 1871, Trustee Files: RCA.

8. For these and other reservations, see Maggie Sedeen, "Anna Peck Sill: Visible Saint," in *A Power Not of the Present* (Rockford, Ill.: Rockford College Press, 1973), 15-16; Kent to D. Clary, December 20, 1851, Historical Files: RCA.

9. Hazel Cederborg, "Early History of Rockford College," (Master's thesis, Wellesley College, 1926), 98, 302, 305. Goodwin to Chapin, June 20, 1852, Historical Files: RCA; Minutes of the Board of Trustees, July 15, 1852, Trustee Files: RCA.

10. Anna Peck Sill, "Rockford Seminary, Its Ideal," *Rockford Seminary Magazine*, 7 (March 1879): 75-77.

11. [Goodwin] *Memorials*, 28-29; Anna Peck Sill, "Woman in 1876," *Rockford Seminary Magazine* 4 (January, 1876): 61-62; Anna Peck Sill, "Address before the Reunion at Minneapolis," *Rockford Seminary Magazine* 11 (June, 1883): 186; "Reunion," *Rockford Seminary Magazine* 12 (March, 1884), 94-97; "Alumnae Reunion," 14 (July, 1886), 213-218;

Barbara Welter, "She Hath Done What She Could: Protestant Women's Missionary Careers in Nineteenth-Century America," in Janet Wilson James, ed., *Women in American Religion*, (Philadelphia, Penn.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1976), 111-125; "Women in Missions" *American Presbyterians: Journal of Presbyterian History* 65 (Spring, 1987); "A Letter to Our Old Girls," April 20, 1881, Sill: RCA.

12. Each collegiate institution had its own board of trustees, but many men sat on both boards during the early years. See First Convention Minutes, August 6, 1844, Records of the Board of Trustees of Rockford Female Seminary; Minutes of the Board of Trustees, December 24, 1850, October 14, 1856, Board: RCA; Sill to Chapin, August 16, 1856, August 23, 1856, Sill: RCA.

13. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, July 15, 1855. I have been unable to find faculty salaries for Beloit college faculty, but salaries for Rockford male and female faculty are listed, for example, in Minutes of the Board of Trustees, October 14, 1856; June 25, 1867, Trustees: RCA.

14. "Faculty Report, 1871-1872," June 25, 1872, Emerson: BCA; Sill to Emerson, October 2, 1872, June 30, 1877, Emerson: BCA. *Historical Sketch of Rockford Female Seminary* (Rockford, Ill.: Register Company Printers and Binders, 1876), 8; "Appendix A: The Financial Development," in *Exercises at the Quarter-Centennial Anniversary of Beloit College* (Beloit, Wis.: Garret Verder, 1872), 60.

15. First Convention Minutes, August 6, 1844; "An Act To Incorporate the Rockford Female Seminary," Section 1, Minutes of the Rockford Board of Trustees, December 25, 1850, Trustees: RCA; Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1977), 132; "Report: Rockford Female Seminary" in *Tenth Annual Catalogue of the Officers and Pupils of Rockford Seminary for the Academic Year 1860-61, 1877-78* (Rockford, Ill.: Register Steam Printing Establishment, 1861), 32. Green, *Mary Lyon and Mount Holyoke*, 196-299; Allen F. Davis, *American Heroine, The Life and Legend of Jane Addams* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 11. The quotation is from "Rockford Female Seminary. When Founded. What It Has Accomplished. Examination Exercises. Commencement Day, &c.," in Sill's personal scrapbook, (a collection of newspaper articles about the seminary from 1849), History: RCA, 17-18.

16. *Liberal Education at Beloit College*, A Report to the Faculty by the Committee on Self Study, 1953, BCA, 53-55.

17. Thomas Le Duc, *Piety and Intellect at Amherst College, 1865-1912* (Reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1969); Boas, *Women's Education Begins*, 198-204; *Beloit College* and *Rockford Seminary Catalogue*, 1854-55. Subsequent references to the college and seminary curricula will be drawn from the annually published catalogues, unless otherwise noted.

18. "Home Happenings," *Rockford Seminary Magazine* 14 (June, 1891): 143.

19. See Eaton, *Sketches*, 31; A. L. Chapin, "Self-Discipline, as Means and End of Education," *Wisconsin Journal of Education*, 4 (December, 1874), "The Yale Report of 1828," reprinted in Arthur Levine, *Handbook of Undergraduate Curriculum* (San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1978), 544ff.; [A. L. Chapin], "Beloit College. Origin and Aims," Chapin: BCA, 6-7.

20. Trustee Joseph Emerson wrote to Zilpah Banister, "*Equality to the college is our mark for the institution* [Rockford Female Seminary]," February 23, 1850, Emerson Papers, BCA; see Minutes of the Rockford Board of Trustees, December 24, 1850, Trustees: RCA; quotation taken from A. L. Chapin, "Anniversary Address," 1862, Chapin: BCA, 9.

21. Beloit had 56 preparatory students, 34 normal and English students, and 30 collegiate students, in the 1854-55 school year, for example. That year, Rockford had 60 preparatory students, 131 normal and English students, and 131 preparatory students.

22. Yale students continued to study ancient literature in the junior year. See, for example, *Catalogue of Yale College, 1844-45* (New Haven, Conn.: B.L. Hamlen, 1844), 29. Study of the ancient languages, stated the 1828 Yale Report, was "the most effectual discipline of the mental faculties," and therefore an excellent preparation for the professions. ("The Yale Report of 1828," 554.)

23. Arthur C. Cole, *A Hundred Years of Mount Holyoke College* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1940), 56; *Mount Holyoke Catalogues*, 1840-1841, 1848-1849. Students at Illinois Conference Female College—now MacMurray College—took four terms of ancient languages, including Cicero's *Orations* and Virgil. See Mary Watters, *The First Hundred Years of MacMurray College* (Springfield, Ill.: Williamson Printing, 1947), 56, appendix.

24. Almira Phelps, *The Female Student or Lectures to Young Ladies on Female Education* (New York: Leavitt, Lord, 1836), 305, 308. For an excellent discussion of the development of mathematics in American colleges, see Bruce A. Kimball, *Orators and Philosophers: A History of the Idea of Liberal Education* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1986), 157-204.

25. Phelps, *The Female Student*, 306-307; Woody, *History of Women's Education*, 1:441.

26. Douglas Sloan, "Harmony, Chaos, and Consensus: The American College Curriculum," *Teacher's College Record* 73 (December, 1971): 221-51. Kimball, *Orators and Philosophers*, 243-254 contains a more convincing argument. See also Joseph Ben-David, "The Universities and the Growth of Science in Germany and the United States," *Minerva* 7 (1968), 1-35; Laurence R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 133-142. For a discussion of the sciences in women's curricula, see Lois B. Arnold, *Four Lives in Science: Women's Education in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Schocken Books, 1984), 8-10, 37ff.; Ethel McAllister, *Amos Eaton, Scientist and Educator* (Philadelphia, Penn.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941), Emma Lydia Bolzau, *Almira Hart Lincoln Phelps, Her Life and Work* (Philadelphia, Penn.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1936), 203-255.

27. Cole, *Hundred Years of Mount Holyoke*, 65-66; Boas, *Women's Education Begins*, 185; Marr, *Old New England Academies*, 203, 209.

28. Marr, *Old New England Academies*, 203-204; *Historical Sketch of Beloit College* (Madison, Wis.: Atwood & Culver, 1876), Eaton, *Sketches*, 115, 213. *Historical Sketch of Rockford Seminary* (Rockford, Ill.: Register Company Printers and Binders 1876), "Editorial," *Rockford Seminary Magazine*, 13 (February, 1885), 72.

29. Marr, *Old New England Academies*, 196-97; Murry R. Nelson, "Emma Willard—Pioneer in Social Studies Education," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago, Illinois, April, 1985, ED 256 669; *Mount Holyoke Catalogue*, 1853-54, 11, lists Goldsmith's *Greece, Rome and England*; Frederick Rudolph, *Curriculum: A History of the American Undergraduate Course of Study Since 1636* (San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass, Inc., Publishers, 1977), 139.

30. Marr, *Old New England Academies*, 188; Rudolph, *Curriculum*, 14, 16.

31. *The Gleaner* and several issues of *Leaves from Forest Hill* are stored at Rockford College Archives; see also Cederborg, "Early History of Rockford College," 165. The societies were mentioned as early as 1858, but they were reorganized in 1867. "Editor's Miscellany," *Rockford Seminary Magazine* 1 (February, 1873), 35.

32. Seminary certificates were awarded from 1854 until 1859, when the first diplomas were awarded. See Minutes of the Rockford Board of Trustees, July 7, 1859, Trustees: RCA; Cederborg, thesis, 129. A. L. Chapin, "Anniversary Address at Rockford Female Seminary," 1862, Chapin: BCA, 9; "Title Extraordinary," *Beloit College Monthly* (January, 1854), 20.

33. This rhetorical training was similar to that offered at other frontier colleges. See, for example, Charles H. Rammelkamp, *Illinois College, A Centennial History, 1829-1929* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1928), 55. Joseph Emerson, "Anniversary Address," Rockford Female Seminary, July 13, 1852, Emerson: BCA, 7-8.

34. "Home Education of Daughters," Sill Scrapbook, 1; [Goodwin], *Memorials*, 28-29; Anna Peck Sill, "Woman and Architect," *Rockford Seminary Magazine* 12 (March, 1884), 98; Alma Lutz, *Emma Willard, Daughter of Democracy* (Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin, 1929), 99-101.

35. Rudolph, *Curriculum*, 51-52; Woody, *History of Women's Education*, 417ff.; "Yale Report of 1828," 554-555; Phelps, *Lectures for Young Ladies*, 368; James S. Ackerman, "The Arts in Higher Education," in Carl Kaysen, ed., *Content and Context: Essays on College Education*, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), 230-231; Hazel Cederborg, "Early History of Rockford College," 128, 144-145, 159-62, 231.

36. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, December 24, 1850, Trustee Files: RCA; [Goodwin], *Memorials*, 27.

37. A. L. Chapin, "Female Education," 10-12.

38. Beloit College Faculty Records, January 9 and 10, 1861 and February 6 and 18, 1861, Book A. Beloit College; Sill to Chapin January 11, 1861; Chapin to Emerson, March 4, 1861, Historical Files: RCA.

39. Extant documents do not indicate how Sill convinced the trustees to offer a four-year program in Greek.

40. The Sill scrapbook is full of newspaper clippings reporting the academic progress of students as displayed in the annual public examinations.

41. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, June 25, 1873 and July 1, 1875, Trustee Files: RCA.

42. "Miss Sill and Her Administration," (paper, n.d.), History: RCA; Ellena Linsky, "An Exploration of the Relationship of Alumni Membership and Subsequent Support of Rockford College" (Master's thesis, Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, Illinois, 1979), 4-5; Cederborg, "Early History of Rockford College," 200-208; Minutes of the Board of Trustees, June 25, 26, 1878, Trustee Files: RCA.

43. "The Term Terminated," Sill scrapbook, 114-115; Minutes of the Board of Trustees, June 10, 20, 21, 1882, Trustee Files: RCA.

44. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, June 29, 1869 and June 28, 1870, Trustee Files: RCA; *Rockford Female Seminary Catalogues*, 1871-1876.

45. "Uncrowned Queens," *Rockford Seminary Magazine* 11 (December, 1883): 267; Jerusha Jane Jones, "Where Is My Place?" *Rockford Seminary Magazine* 1 (January, 1873): 11-14; "The Coming Woman," *Rockford Seminary Magazine* 1 (November, 1873): 4-6; "Editorial," *Rockford Seminary Magazine* 8 (May, 1880): 159; "Practice Makes Perfect," February 3, 1875, 62.

46. Martha Thomas to Jane Addams, April 27, 1882; Mary Ellwood to Jane Addams, April 22, 1883, Jane Addams Papers, University of Illinois, Chicago Campus, Chicago, Illinois; Jerusha Jones, "Where Is My Place?" 11-14; Jerusha Jane Jones, "Is John Smarter Than I?" *Rockford Seminary Magazine* 3 (October, 1875): 300.

47. "Editorial," *Rockford Seminary Magazine* 11 (July, 1883): 223; "Class Day Exercises at the Seminary," Sill scrapbook, 95, "The Last Sad Rites," Sill scrapbook, 107; Cederborg, "Early History of Rockford College," 202, 317; "Editorial," *Rockford Seminary Magazine* 11 (July, 1883): 223; "Editorial," *Rockford Seminary Magazine* 10 (July, 1882): 224. Newspaper articles about these events are found in Sill scrapbook, Sill Papers: RCA.

48. Anna Sill to Joseph Emerson, July 3, 1879, Emerson Papers: BCA; Sill to Emerson, April 9, 1875, Emerson Papers: BCA.

49. Sill to Emerson, April 26, 1881, May 31, 1881 and June 2, 1881, Emerson Papers: BCA.

50. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, June 10, 1881, Trustee Files: RCA.

51. "Editorial," *Rockford Seminary Magazine* 12 (June, 1884): 201-203; "Rockford Seminary Association of the North-west," *Rockford Seminary Magazine* 12 (December, 1884): 317-325; "Eleventh Annual Reunion," *Rockford Seminary Magazine* 13 (February, 1885): 58-69; "Editorial," *Rockford Seminary Magazine*, 15 (January, 1887): 19-21.

52. R.C. Chapin, "Epochs in the History of the College," 52, BCA; Eaton, *Sketches*, 251-252, 160, 167.

53. The marriage, fertility, and employment rates of Rockford graduates resembled the corresponding rates of Wellesley and Bryn Mawr graduates. The 1890 U.S. Census reported that women made up only 18.2 percent of the work force. Only 35 percent of these women were single white women and 2.5 percent were married white women. Roberta Wollons, "The Impact of Higher Education on Women: The Case of Rockford College, 1870-1920," paper presented at The Conference on Women's History, October, 1977, St. Paul, Minnesota; *The Jubilee Book of the Alumnae Association of Rockford College* (Chicago, Ill.: Binner Wells, 1904).

Toward a Political History of American Foundations

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Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, *The Politics of Knowledge: The Carnegie Corporation, Philanthropy, and Public Policy* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1989).

Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, *Private Power for the Public Good: A History of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1983).

Steven C. Wheatley, *The Politics of Philanthropy: Abraham Flexner and Medical Education* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988).

THESE BOOKS FOLLOW THE SCHOLARSHIP OF Barry D. Karl and Stanley N. Katz in viewing private foundations as important political actors in the "public sphere."[1] Ellen Condliffe Lagemann writes in *Private Power for the Public Good* that "in advancing some interests, foundations inevitably have *not* advanced others." She adds that "their actions must have political consequences, even when political purposes are not avowed or even intended."[2] Lagemann and Wheatley see Carnegie and Rockefeller foundation support for higher education as a key to the organizational revolution that transformed business, higher education, and the professions in the first third of the twentieth century. Historians have yet to work out an interpretive paradigm that satisfactorily integrates political history with the "organizational synthesis" that takes this transformation as its central problem. These works do not entirely succeed in that task, but they are important additions to the rapidly growing library of general works on foundations, philanthropy, and the nonprofit sector.[3] The books also persuade the reader that their subjects belong in the mainstream of American political history.

Lagemann and Wheatley argue that the Carnegie and Rockefeller foundations above all supported efforts to define and recruit professional elites, to place professional education in the universities, and to expand university research—especially applied research relevant to the professions. These foundations thereby strongly contributed to the centralization, professionalization, elite formation, and institutional development that characterized the organizational revolution. The authors also show—though they do not make the point explicit—how practical business and professional leaders and Protestant laymen concerned with the "character" of the rising generation dominated the universities, the "learned professions," and the foundations. Academic specialists who worked within the disciplines did not play the key roles. Both authors temper their emphasis on big transformations by emphasizing complexity and rejecting monocausal and strongly "ideological" interpretations.

Lagemann and Wheatley bring the strengths of very different scholarly traditions to their tasks. Lagemann, who studied and taught with Lawrence Cremin at Teachers College, is essentially a historian of ideas about education. Her book on the Carnegie Corporation, like her earlier study of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, emphasizes the philosophies, world views, and inclinations that led Andrew Carnegie and the leaders of his foundations—notably Henry Pritchett, Frederick P. Keppel, John Gardner, and Alan Pifer—to favor certain activities. She covers much ground, presents her stories in engaging prose, and emphasizes the influence of educational theories. Wheatley studied history with Barry Karl and Stanley Katz at the University of Chicago. He is a rigorous, probing historian, ever alert to the politics of the situations he examines. His book deals with matters to which Lagemann devotes less than a dozen pages, but his definition of a "Flexnerian moment" in the reform of medical education illuminates the history of education, philanthropy, and the control of research.

Lagemann's accounts of the Carnegie Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation—like the best candid reports produced by foundation officials—will be very useful to students.[4] She provides highly readable sketches of the rationales for—and some of the outcomes of—many major activities of the foundation and the corporation.

Andrew Carnegie established the Carnegie Foundation in 1905 to provide pensions for college teachers. Former MIT president Henry S. Pritchett, the foundation's first head, used the fund to introduce hierarchy among colleges and universities and to strengthen the university role in the education of professionals. Backed by a board that included the presidents of Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Cornell, Columbia, and Stanford, Pritchett initially made Carnegie pensions available only to elite, private, nonsectarian institutions that maintained specific academic admissions requirements. In 1917, the limits of the Carnegie Foundation's resources and the potential advantages of portable pensions funded by employees and employers alike induced Pritchett to set up the Teacher's Insurance and Annuity Association.

A simple list demonstrates the importance of the foundation's other programs for higher education. It sponsored, between 1908 and the late 1920s, a series of surveys (which Lagemann characterizes as "technologies of influence") of education for the professions, including Abraham Flexner's famous study of medical schools.[5] It played a key role in organizing the College Entrance Examination Board (and later the Educational Testing Service) and in developing the Scholastic Aptitude Test and the Graduate Record Examination.[6] Straightened finances then limited its activities, but the foundation sought to revive its earlier "technologies of influence" through the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1967-1971) and its successor, the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, both led by Clark Kerr.

The Carnegie Corporation, endowed in 1911, engaged in a wider variety of activities. It had a more general purpose—"to promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding among the people of the United States"—than the foundation and much more money. Lagemann leaves aside the corporation's international work that other historians have discussed, and emphasizes its support of initiatives in research and in popular and public education. As might be expected for a foundation whose asset were worth $1 billion in 1987 dollars nearly every year from 1912 through 1969, these initiatives were numerous, and many of them became famous.[7]

Again, a list provides a fair summary of Lagemann's work. For the 1920s and 1930s she emphasizes the corporation's support of the National Research Council, the National Bureau of Economic Research, the American Law Institute (ALI), the American Library Association, the American Association for Adult Education, the training of art museum curators at Harvard, and the People's Institute in New York. For the 1940s and 1950s she emphasizes its support for interdisciplinary work, "area studies," and "behaviorism" through Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* and Samuel Stouffer's *The American Soldier*, Harvard's Department of Social Relations and Russian Research Center, and through a Social Science Research Council fellowship program. For the 1960s, she stresses efforts to strengthen school curricula such as James B. Conant's studies of public education and the preparation of teachers, and the "new math." Thereafter, she indicates, the corporation shifted its focus from academic projects to educational television, the Children's Television Workshop, Christopher Jencks's *Inequality*, and the Children's Defense Fund. Lagemann does not indicate why she selected these projects, or state what proportion of all foundation expenditures they account for. But she considers more than enough nationally important programs for one book.

Lagemann consistently focuses on the rationale for a particular project, the importance of personal relationships, the often adventitious character of foundation decision-making, and the personal, professional, and sometimes narrowly ethnocentric motives of grant-seekers. She notes and criticizes anti-Semitism and the subordination of blacks and women. But she generally—and increasingly as she approaches recent corporation actions—conforms to the foundation self-report formula by emphasizing the candid (and always well-intentioned) reasoning of Carnegie leaders and the concrete accomplishments their grants made possible. Lagemann observes that "in advancing some interests, foundations have inevitably not advanced others," but in focussing on foundation officials and successful grant-seekers, she ignores both rejected applicants and the colleagues and associates of those who received grants.

To her credit, Lagemann discusses some of the dilemmas inherent in her subject. These include tensions and conflicts between Andrew Carnegie and his foundation managers, conflicts between expertise and democracy, and the ambiguities that *private* organizations face when they act in *public* ways and seek to shape public policy. Carnegie favored individual dispersed philanthropies (pensions to deserving individuals and buildings for local libraries). His officers sought to encourage the creation of new works of excellence—and of excellent and useful medicine, science, and law—by strengthening elite institutions and centralizing the recruitment of professional and managerial elites. Pritchett and his colleagues dismissed objections to elitism, including those that raised the issues of equality and self-determination, as the interested complaints of hacks and provincials.

Yet for all her claimed interest in political questions, Lagemann's emphasis on leading figures and their notions keeps her within the history-of-educational-ideas tradition. She leaves it for others to pursue the political implications of Carnegie philanthropy. Her focus on Carnegie people and events—and her use of Carnegie reports and archives as sources—do not permit her to compare the significance of Carnegie actions to the actions of others, or even to place Carnegie people into context.

If, to paraphrase Harold Lasswell, political history is the study of who got what, when, and how, the political history of America's foundations must consider who controlled the foundations, who did and did not benefit from their actions, what resources—money, prestige, legitimacy, expertise, organizational skills—the foundations distributed. And it must be considered questions of time, place, and process.[8] In these terms these books are preliminary surveys.

Who, in the first place, were these foundation, university, and professional leaders? Lagemann repeats, but does not deepen, Eduard C. Lindeman's 1936 observation that the leaders were white, Protestant, Ivy League men.[9] But these men can be identified more precisely, both nationally and in New York. They often worked against other white Protestants—and both with and against Jews.[10] She describes most Carnegie men as "progressives," an admittedly vague category that does not apply to Republican Party stalwarts Elihu Root and Nicholas Murray Butler, both influential Carnegie trustees.[11] Most early Carnegie leaders built elite institutions and professions, often against significant odds, but Lagemann does not make this point or explore its implications.

Her focus on leaders and their intentions leads Lagemann to give short shrift to other participants in Carnegie projects. She emphasizes the desire of Carnegie officials to influence government, but doesn't consider how government officials influenced the foundation. The Russian Research Center, like most other Carnegie-funded area studies programs, was surely intended to meet national security needs. But Lagemann does not examine the role of military or state department officials in creating the center.[12] Nor does she give full consideration to those affected by Carnegie projects. Lagemann considers the nativism of early intelligence testers, but she discusses neither the selection problem that universities faced when they sought to recruit nationally rather than from traditional feeder schools nor the advantage of standardized (if not always "objective") tests to students, including Jews, who did not attend these feeders. Lagemann's account of the ALI provides a fine review of debates among law teachers and legal scholars in the 1920s and 1930s. But she says nothing about the consequences for the academic disciplines of the interdisciplinary enthusiasm of the behaviorists and the proponents of area studies that the corporation favored during and after World War II.[13]

Lagemann's discussions of "what"—the resources the Carnegie foundations distribute—emphasize money, the organizational and political skills of leaders like Pritchett and Gardner, and, above all, prestige. She follows political theorists like Antonio Gramsci, E.E. Schattschneider, Peter Bachrach, and Morton S. Baratz who argued that small elites can rule by means of "intellectual hegemony," by "defining the situation," by setting the "rules of the game," by ruling certain questions out of order, and thus exerting the "other face of power." The chief resources of the two foundations, Lagemann concludes, are prestige and the "technology of influence" represented by Carnegie-sponsored surveys.[14] But her broad scope makes it impossible for her to judge the usefulness of foundation prestige. Nor does she systematically evaluate the challenges to foundation legitimacy and prestige posed by the Cox and Reece congressional investigations of the early 1950s or the Patman committee in the late 1960s.[15]

Lagemann's focus on the "when and how" of foundation political history leaves underscrutinized the explanations that foundation leaders offered for their actions. Why, for example, did these foundations only fund secular and nondenominational colleges? Why did they refuse grants for endowment and general operations? What accounts for their emphasis on "innovation" rather than excellence, their lack of staying power and their readiness to shift program focus with the passing fashions, their insistence on matching grants that forced grant recipients into distracting negotiations with other funders, and their refusal to recognize peer review?

A full account of foundation operating procedures would note the persisting influence of nineteenth century evangelicalism with its faith in the salvation of individuals through ecstatic conversion experience. Other procedures reflect foundation efforts to justify and preserve their existence and autonomy. Andrew Carnegie, after all, did not give foundation assets directly to university or research institute endowments. And whatever the explanations for these procedures, we still need to know their *consequences*: who in higher education got what, and who lost out.

Steven Wheatley's *The Politics of Philanthropy: Abraham Flexner and Medical Education* does not attempt to tell the entire story of Carnegie and Rockefeller contributions to medicine or medical education. But it provides a more satisfactory history of the "who, what, when, and how" of foundation politics. *The Politics of Philanthropy* reconstructs one centrally important episode—Abraham Flexner's campaign to reform medical education—in clear, satisfying, and surprising detail. Wheatley tells us much about the sources of the organizational revolution in clarifying this episode.

Flexner's remarkable career as a reformer of medical education began when he left Harvard's Ph.D. program in psychology after deciding that his previous education inadequately prepared him for a first-class career as a psychologist. Lacking either a Ph.D. or an M.D., he wrote *Medical Education in the United States and Canada* for the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching in 1910. Flexner gained an unprecedented—and unrepeatable, Wheatley suggests—ability to implement his agenda for medical education when the Rockefeller-affiliated General Education Board hired him. He built his program on well-established trends, but continually emphasized the need for clinical instructors to accept full time university appointments and eschew private practice.

The Carnegie and Rockefeller boards included Harvard, Columbia, and Chicago representation, but Flexner successfully insisted that their medical schools conform to *his* program. Harvard received only "$635,000 of the $78 million distributed to medical education during Flexner's tenure with the GEB" after it refused to go along.[16] Flexner's Jewishness attracted anti-Semitic comment and probably limited his rise and longevity within Rockefeller philanthropy—Wheatley shows that he was forced to resign in the general reorganization of the Rockefeller Foundation in 1928. But this identification did not prevent him from exerting great influence on medical education during a period when Jews faced severe and perhaps increasing discrimination in American universities.

Wheatley painstakingly reconstructs Flexner's negotiations with the medical schools at Johns Hopkins, Washington University in St. Louis, Vanderbilt, Harvard, Columbia, and Chicago. These accounts vividly place each negotiation in the contexts of a university and its metropolitan region, and of Rockefeller philanthropy. Wheatley also adds to our understanding of the organizational revolution. He shows, for example, how Flexner's shrewed but vain insistence on full-time appointments for clinical specialists sought to harness the powerful incentives of career identified by Burton Bledstein to the cause of medical reform.[17] And he offers an interesting—though not entirely persuasive—application of Alfred D. Chandler's notions of strategy and structure to the 1928 reorganizations of the Rockefeller philanthropies.[18]

The ability of one uncredentialled individual to shape the reform of medical education, Wheatley shows, resulted from coincidence.[19] Flexner brilliantly and arrogantly "defined the situation," in the best Schattschneiderian way, but his definition derived its power from contemporary debates about the organization of medicine and from the development of medical research. Flexner enforced his definition because Carnegie's Pritchett and Rockefeller's Frederick T. Gates supported him, and because the Rockefeller philanthropies infused an extraordinarily large amount of money into medical education. Flexner placed physician opponents on the defensive; made university administrators who opposed him appear at least momentarily inept; and proved himself an unexpected ally to important local philanthropists, including Robert Brookings at Washington University and Julius Rosenwald in Chicago. These factors combined to give Flexner his moment. But when conditions changed, he lost not only his influence but his job. (He was not out of work for long: he then set up the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton for the Bamberger family.)

Wheatley does not tell us everything about the causes and consequences of the organizational revolution, even as it affected higher and professional education. He does not discuss how advances in medical research and improvements in medical practice gained prestige for rigorous medical education and research. He concentrates on initiatives at a few elite private universities—and briefly on the University of Iowa—and leaves aside later events: the resurgence of M.D.'s and the rise of public institutions, for example. He demonstrates the importance of local philanthropy and of university-hospital relations for medical education, but ignores their political histories. He also leaves aside the full story of the procedures, reorganization, and impact of Rockefeller philanthropy. But students of these topics—and of the political history of foundations in general—will need to begin with Wheatley's impressive book.

American foundations and universities, Lagemann and Wheatley demonstrate, played leading parts in the organizational revolution that transformed America between the mid-1880s and 1929. This revolution provided Americans with national and multinational business corporations, unified financial markets, national business associations, national corporate law and accounting firms and advertising firms, and national professional associations. This revolution also gave us national arenas for evaluating scientific research and debating economic and social policy. And it gave us an increasingly integrated national "system" of entrance examinations, college and university programs, and professional examinations to help recruit, sort, educate, and evaluate people who work in the organizations that carry out these tasks.

Some historians argue that the organizational revolution improved the efficiency and productivity of the American economy, fostered technical, scientific, and medical innovation, and made possible the rise of the American military and diplomatic power. Other historians assert that the revolution destroyed the nineteenth-century sense of political community, advantaged professional elites and discouraged the poor even from participating in elections, and enabled thoughtless elites to enrich themselves while destroying the environment.[20]

These books go far to show how the Carnegie and Rockefeller foundations encouraged American institutions of higher education to participate in the organizational revolution, and indeed how the Carnegie foundations played key roles in creating educational institutions such as TIAA, the College Board, and many notable interdisciplinary and "area studies" academic and research programs. These books add a great deal of detail to our knowledge of how the organizational revolution transformed American institutions. Wheatley's in particular tells us much about who effected this transformation and why it succeeded. Future historians must complete the analysis of changes in twentieth-century higher education, consider more fully the forces that supported and vitiated foundation efforts, and, above all, evaluate the consequences of these changes.

NOTES

1. Barry D. Karl and Stanley N. Katz, "The American Private Philanthropic Foundation and the Public Sphere 1890-1930," *Minerva* 19 (1981), 236-270.

2. Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, *Private Power for the Public Good: A History of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1983), 203.

3. Louis Galambos, "The Emerging Organizational Synthesis in Modern American History" *Business History Review* 44 (1970), 279-290; Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., *The Visible*

Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977).

4. Lagemann has not been a Carnegie Foundation officer, but her books have the virtues and the limitations of a program officer's candid but official report. This genre dates back to John M. Glenn, Lilian Brandt, and F. Emerson Andrews, *Russell Sage Foundation, 1907-1947* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1947).

5. Lagemann, *Private Power for the Public Good*, part II.

6. Lagemann's account is especially valuable since Merle Curti and Roderick Nash make no reference to the CEEB or ETS in their standard—and useful—history of the relationship between philanthropy and higher education. See Merle Curti and Roderick Nash, *Philanthropy in the Shaping of American Higher Education* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1965).

7. Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, *The Politics of Knowledge: The Carnegie Corporation, Philanthropy, and Public Policy* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1989), appendix 3, 319-321, contains a table that lists the total grants paid, administrative expenses, and portfolio market value of the Carnegie Corporation for every year from 1912 through 1982, in current and 1987 dollars. This table reveals that the Corporation's portfolio declined in value by more than half during the 1970s. Lagemann does not comment on this drop, nor does she indicate what proportion of all Carnegie expenditures is accounted for by the projects she describes.

8. Harold D. Lasswell, *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How* (New York: P. Smith, 1950 [1936]).

9. Eduard C. Lindeman, *Wealth and Culture: A Study of One Hundred Foundations and Community Trusts and their Operations during the Decade 1921-1930* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1936), chapter V.

10. Clifford S. Griffin and Carol Smith Rosenberg show that severe conflicts among Protestants that often pitted orthodox Calvinist graduates of Yale and Princeton against liberals from Harvard characterized the politics of education and benevolence well into the nineteenth century. Perhaps these conflicts found echoes in the early twentieth century, when the Carnegie and Rockefeller foundations decisively supported causes favored by secularism and liberal religion. Oddly, Lagemann says not a word about Catholics. See Clifford S. Griffin, *Their Brothers' Keepers: Moral Stewardship in the United States: 1800-1865* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1960), and Carol Smith Rosenberg, *Religion and the Rise of the American City: The New York City Mission Movement, 1812-1870* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1971).

11. For discussions of the varied elites in New York City, see David C. Hammack, *Power and Society: Greater New York at the Turn of the Century* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1982). Chapter 3 discusses New York's elites. This book also analyzes the "progressivism" of those active in New York affairs, and places Root and Butler into their social and political contexts. See also Frederic Cople Jaher, *The Urban Establishment: Upper Strata in Boston, New York, Charleston, Chicago, and Los Angeles* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1982), chapter III.

12. Carnegie Corporation support for area studies may have been related to its support for international programs, a topic that Lagemann omits.

13. For a persuasive discussion of the centrality of peer review to the development of the academic disciplines, see Thomas L. Haskell, *The Emergence of Professional Social*

Science: The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth Century Crisis of Authority (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1977).

14. E.E. Schattschneider, *The Semisoverign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America* (Hinsdale, Ill.: Dryden Press, 1960); Peter Bachrach, *The Theory of Democratic Elitism: A Critique* (Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown, 1967). Antonio Gramsci, *Letters From Prison*, selected and translated by Lynne Lawner (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1973) was the first of several English translations of Gramsci's work. For a critical discussion of the theoretical and methodological issues that these works raise, see David C. Hammack, "Problems in the Historical Study of Cities and Towns in the United States, 1800-1960," *American Historical Review* 83 (April, 1978), 323-349.

15. Lagemann notes that the corporation's highest officials anticipated "an inquiry similar to those conducted by the McCarran Committee and the House Un-American Activities Committee," and spent six months defining a response to the Cox Committee. But she does not consider whether this inquiry induced changes in the corporation's program, nor does she refer to the Reece Committee, or to similar pressures in the late 1930s. See *The Politics of Knowledge*, 185. On the Cox and Reece committee investigation of foundations, see John Lankford, *Congress and the Foundations in the Twentieth Century* (River Falls, Wis.: Wisconsin State University, 1964), and Joseph C. Kiger, *Historiographical Review of Foundation Literature: Motivations and Perceptions* (New York: The Foundation Center, 1987), 13-17.

16. Steven C. Wheatley, *The Politics of Philanthropy: Abraham Flexner and Medical Education* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 149.

17. Burton J. Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: The Development of Higher Education in America* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1976).

18. Wheatley uses the title of Alfred D. Chandler's book, *Strategy and Structure* (Cambridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1962) to call attention to the way in which this reorganization of Rockefeller philanthropy emphasized structure at the expense of strategy. It may well be, however, that Rockefeller leaders gave more emphasis than he credits to the simple *preservation* of their philanthropies, and hence to the need to control programs that might become controversial.

19. Wheatley, *The Politics of Philanthropy*, xiii.

20. For a discussion of these evaluations of the organizational revolution, see Louis Galambos, "Technology, Political Economy, and Professionalization: Central Themes of the Organizational Synthesis," *Business History Review* 57 (Winter, 1983), 471-493.

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